

The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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ALEXANDER II

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Editorial

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The Capuchin Lawrence: Diplomat and Advocate

Theodore Roemer, O. F. M. Cap., Ph. D.

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THE Capuchin Saint Lawrence of Brindisi has been all but forgotten by historians. Yet he was an outstanding champion of the Church against the Protestant Revolt during the first two decades of the seventeenth century. In the bull of canonization Pope Leo XIII admires him for having always been "powerful in work and deed, always an example of virtue, an eradicator of error and vice, a defender of the faith, a vindicator of papal authority." The pontiff continues:

Therefore it is not at all surprising that the Roman Pontiffs, royal personages, as well as potentates in Italy and other regions, eagerly sought the services of Lawrence in most important and difficult negotiations from the correct management and favorable issue of which depended the welfare of the Christian and civil commonwealths, and that they considered this capuced friar of greater value than the most energetic leaders and other men outstanding in political science, worldly prudence, and successful ventures.¹

The first two decades of the seventeenth century, during which Lawrence was most active in the diplomatic field, were years of turmoil. So confused were the issues that it was often impossible to discern in individual cases whether the struggles engaged in were directed against the Church, the empire, the imperial house, Lutheranism and Calvinism, or the Mohammedans. There can, however, be no doubt that the Church was in great danger of extinction within the Holy Roman Empire. Although Lutherans fought Calvinists, and Calvinists were arrayed against Lutherans, they were united in their fight against Catholicism. At the same time the Turks stood at the very gates of the empire, prepared to undermine all props of Christianity. In this critical period the destinies of the empire were in the hands of a dynasty that was at war with itself and whose rulers, Rudolph II and Matthias I, swung from one party to the other, rather from a lust for power than for love of the rights of the Church.

The Counter-Reformation

The historians Pastor² and Jansen³ concur in the statement that during this critical and hectic period Catholicity was preserved from utter collapse in the empire principally through the energetic efforts of the Jesuits and the Franciscan Capuchins. By their constant preachings and instructions, sometimes in combined missions, these sons of Ignatius and Francis saved many of the remnants of Catholicity and began to infuse new religious life in many regions. That at the same time they

entered the field of politics in some instances must be ascribed to the insistence of the Holy See and the constant urging of Catholic rulers. It is but natural that, in consequence, they drew upon themselves the venom of the sectaries. And, as might be expected, much of their success has now been relegated to oblivion, or has been covered with opprobrium.

In writing about the Jesuits and the Capuchins of this period, Sir A. W. Ward finds the former successful by their preaching and writing, and then emphasizes the achievements of their educational work. He continues:

In the south-German, Austrian and Rhenish Provinces of their Order were to be found many of its Colleges, of which since 1573 the *Collegium Germanicum* at Rome was both the example and the feeder; in several of the southern Universities most of the theological and philosophical chairs were filled by Jesuit occupants, and the secondary education of Catholic Germany was largely falling under their control. The lower classes of the population, in the southwest in particular, they were content to leave to the Capuchins, a popular Order by both tradition and habit, with a predilection for camps and soldiery, and an acknowledged claim, which stood them in good stead as diplomatic agents, to be everybody's friend.⁴

Thus it was that the Capuchin Franciscans left the more congenial environment of Italy and came to Bohemia in 1599, at the special request of the prince archbishop of Prague, Zbinek Berka, with the consent of the emperor, Rudolph II, and at the command of the pope, Clement VIII. They had previously been established in the Tyrolese country with the help of Archduke Ferdinand, but this was their first penetration to the heart of the empire.⁵

Father Lawrence of Brindisi was the superior of this pioneer group of Capuchins. He came from the Venetian family of the Rossi, but he was born at Brindisi in the kingdom of Naples. Closely connected with the Neapolitan Franciscan Conventuals in his youth, he eventually entered the Capuchin branch of the Franciscan order in Venice. Before his appointment to the German countries in 1599, he was already famous throughout Italy for his preaching, his holy life, and his diplomatic success in smaller fields. An accomplished

⁴ *The Cambridge Modern History*, V (New York, 1934), p. 4.

⁵ The facts of this article are based principally on *De Rebus Austriae et Bohemiae Commentariolum Autographum*, first published by Edouard d'Alençon, O.F.M. Cap. (Rome, 1910); reprinted by Hieronymus a Fellette, O.F.M. Cap., in *Testimoniolum Elenchus de S. Laurentii a Brundisio Activitate Apostolica ac Operibus* (Venice, 1937). The *Commentariolum* was written in his own hand by the saint at the command of his superiors. Valuable information for the present article was also gleaned from the notes in the published volumes of the works of St. Lawrence, *S. Laurentii Opera Omnia* (Padua, 1928-1936); *Life of Saint Lawrence of Brindisi* by Anthony Brennan, O.F.M. Cap. (London, 1911); *The Capuchins* by Father Cuthbert, O. F. M. Cap. (London, 1928), pp. 286-296.

¹ *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum*, III (1887), p. 68.

² *Geschichte der Päpste*, XI, XII (Freiburg i.B., 1927), *passim*.

³ *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, V (Freiburg i.B., 1886), *passim*.

linguist, he was so well versed in the Hebrew and other Oriental tongues that he had twice been appointed apostolic preacher for the Jews and had on these occasions brought many of them to the bosom of the Church. In his order he had occupied various responsible positions, and was at this time one of its general consultants.

Mission in Germany

When Lawrence arrived at Vienna, he was prevailed upon by Archduke Matthias to let some of his companions establish themselves there, while he and the others proceeded to Prague, "a city almost entirely filled with heretics".⁶ He started to preach immediately, at first in Italian, and within the year in German. Soon he was able to found a friary next to the imperial gardens. The reception of the friars by the heretics of Prague was distinctly hostile, even though they were compelled to give grudging praise to the charity of the barefooted and cowed strangers when they ministered to those stricken by the plague that devastated the city and compelled even the emperor to leave his capital. When he returned to his residence, he expressed his pleasure at finding the Capuchins so near his home. But soon the eccentric ruler's mind was prejudiced against the friars by his astrologer adviser and his Calvinistic friends, who persuaded him to banish them from the empire for no other reason than that his mind had been poisoned against them. When they prepared to leave, his attitude again shifted and he demanded that they stay as his good friends.

This change of attitude manifested itself when the imperial forces prepared to march against the Turks, who once again were threatening the imperial possessions. While the papal troops sent to assist the emperor in the war were accompanied by twelve Capuchin chaplains, the emperor insisted that four of the Capuchins in the empire be assigned to his armies, with Lawrence as the head chaplain. As such he was called to attend the meeting of the military leaders who were to decide what course should be pursued in the predicament into which the imperial forces had been lured at Stuhlweissenburg. The 18,000 imperial soldiers were caught in a trap by 80,000 Mussulmans. Only one small escape corridor remained open, but flight would cost many lives on account of Turkish superiority in leadership, artillery, trained and well provisioned troops, and numbers. Yet flight seemed the lesser of two evils. So thought most of the leaders. Then Lawrence urgently counselled attack and—promised victory. The better generals respected his judgment. It was he who had previously come to them as an envoy and had convinced them that they must come to the assistance of the emperor. They knew him to be a man of God. Therefore they insisted that his advice be followed, and they prepared for battle.

Then occurred one of those peculiar battles, whose outcomes defie human reasoning. Lawrence, holding aloft his crucifix, rode at the head of the Christian troops and rallied them in the fight for Christianity. During the next days of battle he could be seen constantly in the thick of the fray with no other weapon than the cross. Reliable witnesses tell of his many mi-

raculous escapes from harm. They relate the complete success of the Christian arms and the total rout of the Turkish forces, who left 20,000 dead on the field of battle while the imperial losses were very light. No wonder that the Catholic soldiers looked up to him with awe, and that many of the Protestants asked to be reconciled with the Church. And even though the Turks later returned to the attack, the backbone of their resistance was broken.⁷

Soon after this battle Lawrence was ordered to return to Italy for the general chapter of his order. Much pressure was exerted by the Catholic princes to have him remain in Germany, but the ecclesiastical authorities turned a deaf ear to all entreaties. Lawrence's first German mission had been a complete success, but his order wanted his talents applied in its own behalf. He was elected superior general of the whole order, and he spent the next three years (1602-1605) in a visitation of his brethren throughout Europe.

At the end of his administration he had the right to expect a well deserved rest, particularly because the state of his health was greatly impaired. But one year after his release from the generalship, he was recalled to the German countries, at the urgent request of Emperor Rudolph and by command of Pope Paul V. This second mission lasted until 1613, and was concerned mostly with the promotion of the Catholic League.⁸ At the same time Lawrence gave himself no rest in his efforts to bring the heretics to an understanding of the true faith, and he was most successful. But we are here particularly interested in his diplomatic career.

St. Lawrence and the Catholic League

The founding of the Catholic League is closely connected with, and may be said to have had its inception, in the affair at Donauwörth.⁹ According to the terms of the Peace of Augsburg (1555), equal rights were to be accorded to the Catholics and Lutherans in this Danubian city. The Protestants, however, had usurped all authority by deposing the Catholic members of the city's council and depriving the Catholics in general of their civic and religious liberty. When Lawrence passed through the city on his return to Prague, he was violently assaulted by the mob and had to seek refuge in the Benedictine abbey. There he was told of recent indignities suffered by the monks when they attempted to assert their rights in carrying out the time-honored Rogation Procession. He promised his intervention at the imperial court. When his efforts in this direction proved fruitless because of the fearsome Catholic retreat before the Protestant aggressions, Lawrence spoke fearlessly from the pulpit against the shamefulness and the danger of such retreat. His words aroused the Catholics in general to such a pitch that the emperor was compelled to take immediate action. He put Donauwörth under the ban of the empire and deputed Maximilian of Ba-

(Please turn to page thirty-seven)

⁷ Pastor, *op. cit.*, XI, p. 224. For the many testimonies on this episode cf. *Testimoniorum Elenchus, ut supra*; Brennan, *op. cit.*

⁸ The part played by St. Lawrence in the matters of the Catholic League has not yet been sufficiently recognized by historians. Cf. sources of the previous note.

⁹ Pastor, *op. cit.*, XII, pp. 507-508.

⁶ *Commentariolum in Testimoniorum Elenchus, ut supra*, p. 33.

The Assassination of Alexander II

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"The sacred dignity and authority of Kings," wrote Leo XIII in 1878, has incurred such envy on the part of rebellious subjects that wicked traitors, impatient of all restraint, have often within a recent period boldly raised impious hands against even the very heads of States.¹

These words surely could be applied to some of the Russian revolutionaries of the nineteenth century who by both word and action aimed at the destruction of Russian absolutism. Pestel founded a secret political society as early as 1817. The Decembrist revolt of 1825 against the succession of Nicholas I was a significant manifestation of the spirit of those bitterly opposed to Czarism, and Nicholas' answer with gunfire, arrests, executions, and deportations to Siberia was just as significant an answer. Such protest and retaliation characterized much of the century.

But it was especially after 1830 that the spirit of rebellion against the existing social order grew apace. It was the New, Young Russia against the Old. Alexander Herzen (1812-1870), one of the first great champions of the new ideal, with its motto of "Land and Liberty" expressed himself in 1854 as follows:

The standard is no longer lifted up against the priest, no longer against the king, no longer against the nobleman, but against the heir of all these—against the *master*, against the patented monopolizer of the tools of toil. And the revolutionist is no longer either Huguenot, or Protestant, or Liberal; he is called the *workman*.²

All Europe is divided into two: the fearful and the fearless, the proprietors and the propertyless. Detachment is the virtue of the underprivileged. He has everything to gain and nothing to lose. The workingman must dominate and become strong through force got through confederation.

Michael Bakunin's (1814-1876) was another voice speaking for the lower class. He was extremely and violently revolutionist, and wanted power to come directly from the people. At the "Peace and Liberty Congress" held at Bern in September, 1868, he said:

Communism I abhor, because it concentrates all the strength of society in the State, and squanders that strength in its service; because it places all property in the hands of the State, whereas my principle is the abolition of the State itself. I want the organization of society, and the distribution of property, to proceed upward *from below* by the free voice of society itself; not downwards *from above* by the dictates of authority.³

His willingness to sacrifice all for the revolution opened the way to terrorism. His "Revolutionary Catechism" became a handbook.

There were many other doctrinaires for the oppressed: some were at home; some were abroad in Switzerland and London. Their following came especially from university students and from the ranks of the young women, many of them from good families. The young women seemed particularly zealous. Many newspapers also fed the fire of discontent which soon burst forth into a blaze

of terrorism.

Nihilism: Philosophy of Anarchy

This terrorist movement blazed throughout Russia in the decade of the Emancipation of the Serfs (1860-1870). It flamed on through another decade, flared up high in the dastardly assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881, and then died out to give way to other forms of revolutionary movements. The name usually applied to this conflagration is Nihilism. It was first given as a term of opprobrium, but soon its followers took it as their own. In general, it is "the doctrine that conditions in the social organization are so bad as to make destruction desirable for its own sake, independent of any constructive program." In practice, it terrorized by acts of violence such as mining, bombing, shooting. Descriptively,

Nihilism was a struggle for the emancipation of intelligence from every kind of dependence, and it advanced side by side with that for the emancipation of the laboring classes from serfdom.

The fundamental principle of Nihilism, properly so-called, was absolute individualism. It was the negation, in the name of individual liberty, of all the obligations imposed upon the individual by society, by family life, and by religion. Nihilism was a passionate and powerful reaction, not against political despotism, but against the moral despotism that weighs upon the private and inner life of the individual.⁴

The word was first used by Turgenev in his novel *Fathers and Children* (1862). There Bazarov is presented as a nihilist as follows:

Pavel Petrovitch pulled his moustaches. 'Well, and what is Mr. Bazarov himself?' he asked, deliberately.

'What is Bazarov?' Arkady smiled. 'Would you like me, uncle, to tell you what he really is?'

'If you will be so good, Nephew.'

'He's a nihilist.'

'Eh?' inquired Nikolai Petrovitch, while Pavel Petrovitch lifted a knife in the air with a small piece of butter on its tip, and remained motionless.

'He's a nihilist,' repeated Arkady.

'A nihilist,' said Nikolai Petrovitch. 'That's from the Latin, *nihil*, nothing, as far as I can judge; the word must mean a man who . . . who accepts nothing?'

'Say, "who respects nothing,"' put in Pavel Petrovitch, and he set to work on the butter again.

'Who regards everything from the critical point of view,' observed Arkady.

'Isn't that just the same thing?' inquired Pavel Petrovitch.

'No, it's not the same thing. A nihilist is a man who does not bow down before any authority, who does not take any principle on faith, whatever reverence that principle may be enshrined in.'⁵

Kropotkin, writing just before 1900, says that Nihilism is a "revolt of the individual" against domestic slavery and despotism, against utter disregard of human individuality on the part of the fathers, and against the hypocritical submission on that of the wives, the sons, and the daughters. Not reform laws but only a vigorous social movement, he thought, could put an end to this despotism and hypocritical submission in Russian life. Rough sincerity and enthusiasm in the work characterized the young men and women who went out to the

¹ *Leonis XIII. Pontificis Maximi Acta*, Romae, ex typographia Vaticana, 1878-1903, 26 volumes, 1, 172.

² Quoted by C. Tondini de Quarenghi, "A Russian Social Pan-lavist Program" in *The Contemporary Review*, XL (July-December, 1881), 300-326.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ "Stepniak" (Sergiei Mikhailovitch Krarchinski), *Underground Russia*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892, 3, 4.

⁵ Ivan Turgenev, *Fathers and Children*, Chapter 5.

people to educate them out of their slavish ways to the higher life of free men and women. Kropotkin says that Western Europe is mistaken in confusing Nihilism with terrorism. The one is a philosophy that has left a permanent stamp on a great portion of the educated classes of Russia, the other a transient revolutionary disturbance like the one that ended in the tragic death of Alexander II.⁶

Assassination Plans

Whatever the theory or definition may be, in historic fact Nihilism and terrorism fused in Russia towards the end of the seventies and there existed Nihilist Terrorism, with its organization, its statutes, its zealots. There were only a few score of leaders and a few thousand of more or less active propagandists, but they were determined to strike down despotism. They met in a congress at Lipetsk in Russia in 1879, and on August 26 an executive committee condemned Czar Alexander II to death.

Attempts had already been made on the life of the Czar. Back in the sixties Karakozof had tried to shoot him in the gardens in St. Petersburg. Earlier in this same year 1879 Solovyof shot at him. The would-be assassin was arrested, tried, condemned, and hanged on June 10. After the sentence of August 26, mines were laid under the railroad tracks over which the royal train returning from the Crimea must pass. Zhelyobof's mine near Alexandrovsk fizzled. Sophia Perovsky's near Moscos blew up the wrong train. Many in the train were killed and injured, but the Czar returned home unhurt. Finally, the terrorists made an attempt in the Winter Palace itself. At 6:30 in the afternoon of February 18, 1880, the tables were set and the servants waiting for the royal party to appear for dinner, when a terrific explosion shattered the dining room of the Palace. The late arrival of one of the guests had saved him and his host, Alexander.

By the spring of 1881 the terrorists had lost confidence in mines as a means of assassination because it had proved too difficult to determine exactly the time at which their victim would be in a certain spot. Bombs were resorted to as much easier to handle and more adaptable to time and place. Their "scientists" had become quite devoted to the "study of chemistry"⁷ and quite proficient in making bombs. Kibalchich was especially adept at this, and his bombs were used for the occasion. About a week before March 14 Zhelyobof had asked for volunteers to stand in the streets with bombs ready. Volunteers were not wanting. Sophia had decided to hurry on the plot, and in spite of Zhelyobof's capture on March 13, the scheme was so well organized and already so far advanced that he showed the greatest confidence that it could not be frustrated.

Murder of Alexander

March 14, 1881⁸ was to be the fatal day. Alexander

had been warned to stay indoors that day, but he would not. He had just signed a reform decree to be promulgated soon and was in high spirits. After the Sunday Mass he rode out to inspect the troops in the riding school, and thence would return via the St. Catherine Canal to the Winter Palace. He started back in a closed carriage with the Archduke Michael about 2:00 in the afternoon. Six Cossacks followed the carriage, and one was seated in it, rifle in hand. Sharing the common fear which filled the hearts of those responsible for the Czar's safety, the driver whipped up the horses so as to cover the short distance more quickly, but thus he left the escort some distance behind. When the carriage had proceeded about three hundred paces on the Quay St. Catherine, one of the terrorists, Rysakov by name, hurled a bomb at it; but as the carriage was moving too fast, the bomb exploded somewhat behind. Snow and debris were thrown into the air, and the glass in the nearby windows was shattered. A boy of fourteen and another man were thrown to the ground. The back of the carriage was damaged. Alexander called to the driver to stop, but he, following instructions, only whipped up the horses to a faster pace in order to get away from the danger. The Czar pulled the cord on his arm and made him stop so that he could get out and look after the wounded. When he was helped out he limped on his left leg, apparently slightly injured; later, blood stains were found in the carriage. By this time the Cossack guard came dashing up, and a crowd was gathering. Some of the men surrounded Rysakov, who was lying half dead in the snow, to prevent the people from injuring him further. "I am all right, thank God," said the Emperor as he advanced toward the wounded. Another assassin, with a knife in the other hand, pointed a revolver at him, but it was knocked down.

If Koch and Dvorjitsky, who were especially responsible for Alexander's safety, had been more alert, they would have noticed a man standing arrogantly with folded arms on a narrow walk near where the Emperor must pass. He had advanced only two or three paces when this fellow threw something white under his feet. There was another explosion, again a shower of snow and debris hid everything for a moment. When the air cleared, the assassin, a small boy, and a Cossack lay dead, and a score of others lay about on the ground. Moans were heard amidst the great confusion and shouts. Blood and bits of flesh were spattered around on the snow. The Czar lay mangled in his own blood. "Carry to palace—there die" he whispered. Accordingly he was carried immediately to the Palace, his blood reddening the snow along the way. Only after the arrival there did the doctors bind up his wounds to prevent hemorrhage. Two Cossacks gave blood for a transfusion, but it was too late. His temples were massaged with ether and oxygen was administered. He breathed a little, and his pulse beat faintly. His open eyes were fixed. All hope was gone, as Doctor Botkine and the Emperor's surgeon Kroughlevsky clearly knew. Those who stood close saw that the right leg was practically blown off at the knee and the left one shattered to the hip. The bomb had badly lacerated the lower part of the ab-

(Please turn to page forty)

⁶ Peter Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, IV, xii.

⁷ The calendar dates here given are according to the *New Style* (N.S.). In 1881 the Russian calendar was still *Old Style* (O.S.), which, in our reckoning, was thirteen days behind our calendar. Thus, the Russian account gives March 1 as the date of the assassination, the *London Tablet*, for instance, March 14.

⁸ The bombs used to execute this plot seem to have been nitroglycerine bombs weighing about six and three-fourths pounds. The wounds inflicted by them baffled medical experience.

⁹ Cf. note 7 above.

Latin America: A Cultural Challenge

Sr. M. Frederick Lochemes, O. S. F., Ph. D.

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IT IS a platitude to say that foreign travel broadens and educates. The statement therefore needs no amplification. Its advantages, however, cannot be overly stressed especially with respect to the historian whose net-gain from a sojourn among the peoples about whom he studies is incalculable. For him the most significant of its benefits are a deeper appreciation of their culture, a better understanding of their customs and way of life, a fuller comprehension of the conditions and current problems of their country, and a general vitalization of the more dull and uninteresting aspects of their history. First-hand information always enriches book-knowledge and adds a degree of authoritativeness to subject taught or studied.

The scholar of Latin-American history has much to gain by a tour of the one-time New-World Iberian possessions. The twenty republics to the south of us are rich in pre-Columban monuments, sixteenth-century relics of the great *conquistadores*, architectural treasures of the colonial epoch, and a host of well-preserved sites made sacred by the heroes of the wars of independence. This large section of the universe is now among the oldest areas where historic monuments of an early century have not been laid low by the devastation of the recent world war.

Of pre-Columban fame are the colorful archaeological districts throughout Mexico, Central America, and the Andean coast of the southern continent where the most cultured of the Indian tribes were located. The Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas have each left innumerable impressive monuments scattered throughout their domains. The Chichen Itzá ruins near Mérida, Yucatán, the archaeological zone of Teotihuacán, and the ruins at Macchu-Picchu and Sacsay-huamán, all stupendous in size, rank with the wonders of the world.

A number of pre-conquistadorean cities still flourish within these republics, although most of them were hispanicized and expanded once the European colonists settled there. Most prominent among them are Mexico City (Tenochtitlán), Quito, and Cuzco—all centers of early Indian culture.

Of oldest Hispanic tradition is the tropical island of Hispaniola, better known by the names of the two small countries confined within its shores. Haiti and the Dominican Republic are both rich in Columban lore that begins with the point along Cap Haitien where Christopher sadly watched the wrecking of his flag-ship, *Santa María*. In 1493 the "Great Discoverer" marched inland in conquest of the island, founding the drowsy little town, LaVega Real. Today it is possible to follow this circuitous route through forests of flowering *amapolas* (poppy trees) and plantations of nut-bearing cacao. High on Santo Cerro (Holy Hill) he is said to have planted a wooden cross on taking possession of the island in the name of the Catholic monarchs. A modest chapel now stands on this historic spot.

At a southeastern point across the island the old town

of Santo Domingo is located. It now bears the name Ciudad Trujillo to honor the president of the republic. Although the city was partly destroyed by a recent earthquake, a number of Columban landmarks have been preserved. The town itself was founded by Christopher's brother, Bartholomew, in 1496 and named in memory of their father. The historic cathedral, still in use, was begun in 1512. Its walls are hung with sixteenth-century art treasures, chief among them an oil-painting presented to Christopher by Queen Isabel. The "treasury" of this cathedral has priceless jewels and ornaments: cannon-cards of chased silver presented by Emperor Carlos V; jewels worn by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel; and a sixteenth-century Hapsburg coat-of-arms embroidered on black velvet with 10,000 faintly-pink seed-pearls that had been fished along Venezuelan shores. A filigreed silver case covers a three-foot wooden cross that was fashioned from the one Christopher planted on Santo Cerro in 1493.

The "Great Discoverer's" remains, too, are entombed in this church. At least so Dominicans say, and they have substantial grounds to defend their assertion. Their story runs thus: Christopher Columbus died in 1506. He expressed a desire to be buried in the cathedral of Santo Domingo. Diego, his son, expected to fulfill this request, but himself died before the structure was completed. In 1542, Luís, the grandson, brought the remains of both Christopher and Diego to Santo Domingo, burying them in the floor at the gospel side of the cathedral's main altar. In 1795, after the island had been ceded to France, a casket (supposedly Christopher's) was hurriedly exhumed and sent to Cuba, then political center of the Spanish Antilles. The remains reposed there until Cuban independence (1898) when Spain demanded the ashes of her illustrious son. They were then translated to Seville. About sixty-six years ago, the floor of the old cathedral in Santo Domingo was replaced, and some remodelling of the sanctuary took place. While excavating, the workers stumbled upon a casket which, when inspected, revealed the initials "C.C." and a metal plaque bearing the inscription, "*El Gran Almirante*" (the Great Admiral). The archbishop of Santo Domingo was instantly summoned and he, in turn, immediately called the chief officers of state. In short order an august assembly gathered. They inspected the box and agreed that it apparently contained the remains of Christopher Columbus and that the unlabelled one, shipped years ago to Cuba and later on to Spain, must have held the body of his son, Diego. Thus, both Seville (which refuses to credit this version) and Santo Domingo now claim Christopher's authentic tomb.

Several other sixteenth-century structures can be found in this 450-year-old capital. The *Alcazar de Colón*, the court to which Diego Columbus brought his aristocratic wife, María de Toledo, is located on a rather high promontory overlooking the Ozama river. Although in ruins, this handsome stone structure indicates a palace

of no mean proportions. *San Nicolás* (1508), the first church of stone in the Americas, is also in ruins, as well as *San Francisco* (1548) at whose main portal the remains of Alonso de Ojeda, discoverer of Venezuela, are entombed. Both, however, are national monuments and will in time be restored.

Possibly of greater historic significance than any of the aforementioned sites is the point of intersection for the avenues *Isabel la católica* and *Mercedes*. From this one-time plaza many of the early *conquistadores* set forth after having solemnly taken the oath of allegiance to the Spanish crown. Thus, from this center Ojeda proceeded to the conquest of Venezuela, Pizarro to Peru, Ponce de León to Puerto Rico and Florida, Velásquez to Cuba, and Balboa to Darién and the Pacific. Santo Domingo was long the seat of Spanish authority in the Antilles, stepping-stones to both continents.

The two neighboring West Indian islands, Cuba and Puerto Rico, are none the less rich in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Hispanic landmarks. On the former island, in Habana, an off-shoot of the silk-cotton tree to which Columbus is said to have tethered his horse still shades the patio of *El Templete*, a small chapel constructed on the spot where the first Spanish council met and where the first holy mass was celebrated in 1519. Among other colonial architectural gems are the restored church, *El Cristo*, now in the hands of Augustinians from Philadelphia; and two rows of ancient stone structures that face what is known as the narrowest street in the world. *Morro Castle*, begun in 1589, and the *Cabañas*, erected in 1763, are impressive fortresses built to protect Cuba from English, French, and Dutch marauders.

English buccaneers left their imprint on all important cities along the Spanish Main. *El Drake, el Dragón* (Sir Francis Drake, called "the dragon" by the Spaniards) is said to have swung his hammock in the sanctuary of Santo Domingo cathedral. A small opening in the roof of this church is still pointed out as the spot where one of his cannon-balls pierced the arched ceiling in the bombardment of the island in 1586. Henry Morgan, in 1622 looted the town of Santiago de Cuba, blew up *Morro Castle* in Habana, and robbed the cathedral of its bells. The following century brought persistent attacks by Admiral Vernon, friend of Lawrence Washington, brother of the Father of our country. Hosts of other freebooters roamed the high seas, intent on capturing the richly-laden Spanish galleons on their return to Cadiz. Scores of picturesque forts and sea-walls along both oceanic coastlines are mute reminders of the devastating attacks of these pirates who were determined to crush Spain's power on land and on sea. A number of the more formidable of these ancient fortresses recently served the interests of the United States government in hemispheric defense.

The Dutch and French, too, were early invaders. The former were especially successful, occupying Brazil over a period of twenty-four years. A delightful old church, *Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres*, rich in glazed blue wall-tiling depicting biblical scenes, was erected in Recife in 1696 to commemorate the two battles of 1648 and 1649 when the Portuguese effectively thrust the Netherlands

from the country. Puerto Rico also has a monument commemorating the expulsion of this powerful little nation from her shores. A bronze statue of Ponce de León is cast from metal obtained from melted cannons captured from the Dutch in 1625. It stands in a small plaza in front of the oldest church, *San José*.

Other shrines of colonial fame can be found in Puerto Rico. For example, the ashes of Juan Ponce de León, who sought in vain for the "Fountain of Youth," are preserved in the cathedral of San Juan. On another hill-top, *Casa Blanca*, Ponce's old family residence (he was the island's first governor) now serves the United States territorial government, as does *La Fortaleza*, ancient headquarters of the Spanish government on the island. In the church, *San José*, a shrine of the crucifixion, presented by Ponce de León's wife, is still venerated. The legend connected with this gift is as follows: One day *Señora Ponce*, in pensive and nostalgic mood, stood at her window overlooking the sea. Suddenly she beheld a large wooden crate floating toward shore, and forthwith she sent her servants to rescue the box, ordering it brought before her immediately. Upon examining its contents she found this magnificent piece of statuary which she turned over to the *padres* in charge of the little church. The altar upon which it stands was built in her memory.

On the mainland, especially in the Spanish vice-regal seats of Lima and Mexico City and in the Portuguese captaincies-general of Pernambuco, Minas Gerais, Bahía, and Rio de Janeiro, one encounters many more colonial monuments. Francisco Pizarro, conqueror of Peru, is honored in a side chapel of the cathedral in Lima where his mummified body reposes. A fig-tree, supposedly planted by him, still stands in the patio of the *Palacio del Gobierno*. Likewise, Pedro Alvares Cabral, Portuguese discoverer of Brazil, lies buried in the cathedral of Rio de Janeiro. In Cuernavaca, Mexico, an old palace built by Hernán Cortés has been restored and now serves as the seat of the state legislature. Within the limits of Mexico City (Tacuba) a giant cypress is pointed out as the tree under which Cortés sat and wept on the memorable *La Noche Triste* (the Sad Night) as he watched his defeated troops file past in retreat from the more powerful Aztec forces.

Among other more notable colonial structures are the old *Sala de Congreso* in Bogotá; the *Palacio de la Inquisición*, Torre-Tagle palace, and the University of San Marcos in Lima; the monastery of San Agustín Acolman, Franciscan friary (Cuernavaca), and the Palace of Iturbide in Mexico; the 380-year-old monastery of *San Agustín* in Cuzco, Peru; the *Casa Rosada* and *Cabildo* in Buenos Aires, Argentina; and the three-century-old Carmelite monastery in Recife—first a prison, then a hospital, and finally a novitiate. Also in Brazil, the entire town of Ouro Prêto has been declared a national monument and completely restored to its colonial grandeur. Moreover, throughout the length and breadth of the old dominions there are scores of fortresses, aqueducts, municipal government-buildings, prisons, hospitals, schools, and orphanages, all constructed during the colonial epoch, which still are put to good use. The

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Historians of Trent

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THOUGH the Council of Trent assembled four hundred years ago (December, 1545), it was not until very recent times that its definitive history could be written. The necessary source materials had not been scientifically collected and carefully correlated. The complaints of Ranke¹ and Bishop Hefele² to the effect that no true history of the Council could be written until the essential spade work was done were valid until a decade and a half ago. And echoes of Waterworth's century-old lament can still be heard.³ He pointed out that, though in his day distorted versions of Trent had been published in English, no adequate refutation had appeared, nor had a translation of Pallavicino been undertaken. There is still no really satisfactory contribution in English either in the original or in translation.

The first History of the Council was the work of the brilliant, but bitterly anti-papal, Fra Paolo Sarpi. Fra Paolo attempted to establish the thesis that the Popes tyrannized the Council, and he has been charged with bolstering his attack by inventing "facts", blandly confusing actual happenings, juggling speeches, misinterpreting actions and statements, and pointing up scandal, with accessories of sarcasm, violence and contempt. His *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, which was presented under the pseudonym of Pietro Soave Polano, was smuggled out of Venice by the former Jesuit and apostate bishop, Marcantonio de Dominis, published in London in 1619, and dedicated to James I. This work was later translated into French and annotated by Courayer (1736) and into German by Winterer (1840).

To combat Sarpi's influence, at the Pope's request the learned and versatile Jesuit and later Cardinal, Pietro Sforza Pallavicino, wrote his *Istoria del Concilio di Trento* (Rome, 1652). Pallavicino's principal sources were taken from Vatican archival deposits; unfortunately, they were in codified form, due to the stringent papal restrictions on the use of documentary evidences of the Council. As a consequence of his papal commission, his Vatican sources, and his apologetic approach, the work lacks historical objectivity. Nevertheless his history was the accepted one for over two hundred years. It was re-edited and translated into Latin, French, Spanish and German.⁴

It is not our purpose here to discuss the Sarpi-Pallavicino controversy which flares up on occasion. The forthcoming celebrations of Trent's four hundredth anniversary will without doubt recall the issue.

In the two and a half centuries following the Sarpi-Pallavicino joust there were several creditable contribu-

tions towards the history of the council. Among the works which appeared in Germany were those of Salig (*Vollständige Gesch. des Tridentischen Concils*, Halle, 1741 seq.), Göschl (*Geschichtl. Darstellung des Concils zu Trient*, Regensburg, 1840), and Rütjes (*Gesch. des Concils von Trient*, Münster, 1846). The most noteworthy French efforts were those of Baguenault de Puchesse (*Histoire du Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1870) and L. Maynier (*Études sur le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1874).⁵ Generoso Calenzio contributed his *Esame Critico-letterario delle opere riguardanti la Storia del Concilio di Trento* (Rome and Turin, 1869) and *Saggio di Storia del Concilio di Trento sotto Paolo III* (Rome, 1869).

Obviously, they failed at least in definitiveness, because of the lack of complete sources. This same judgment applied even more pertinently to general histories such as those of Fleury, Darras, Rohrbacher and their successors.

The collecting and editing of the necessary conciliar sources have a history of their own.⁶ In 1538 Pierre Crabbe published a two-volume collection of materials. This was revised and amplified in 1551 to cover the period up to Trent. Crabbe set the style of documentary editing: chronological arrangement, sketches of the lives of the respectively reigning pontiffs, marginal variants, and critical notes. This edition was followed by one of Surius' (1567), who deleted Crabbe's variants and notes, and made additions to the texts without always carefully indicating them. Nicolini and Ballonus (1587) further amplified the collection. Bini (1606), following Surius' example, added more documents—and confusion.

Fathers Labbe and Cossart, Jesuits, basing their efforts on Bini, reworked the field and published their *Sacro-sancta concilia ad regiam editionem exacta*. But, as one critic points out, they were guided by a strange calculus, noting religiously the variants of words but not troubling themselves with the omission or alteration of phrases or whole passages.⁷ In 1683 Etienne Baluze, a careful but sometimes anti-curial scholar, contributed the first of a projected three-volume supplement to Labbe-Cossart. He never published the other two.

The Jesuit Jean Harduoin had a new edition of Labbe-Cossart ready for the presses by 1715, but because it contained much of his own anti-Gallican sentiment, the opposition of the Sarbonne held up its appearance for ten years. With his *Acta conciliorum et epistolae decretales ac constitutiones summorum pontificum*, Harduoin did a signal service for this form of historiography by eliminating useless and antiquated notation, and restoring, as far as possible, the original texts of the Acts. But with strange perversity editors who followed Harduoin neglected his critical work and used as their bases col-

¹ Cf. Sebastianus Merkle, *Concilii Tridentini Diariorum*, Pars Prima, Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1901, p. XIV.

² *Ibid.*, p. XIII.

³ Rev. J. Waterworth, *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, London, 1848, pp. v-iii.

⁴ E.g., A. Zaccaria published an Italian edition in 1833; Giotino, one in Latin in 1673; Abbé Migne, one in French (with Zaccaria's notes, the catechism of the Council, dissertations on the Council, lists of delegates, etc.); Klitsche translated part of Pallavicino's work into German, 1835 seq.

⁵ Cf. P. Richard, *Histoire des Conciles* (Hefele-Hergenröther-Leclercq), IX, i partie, Paris, 1930, p. 13.

⁶ Cf. bibliographical note to *Histoire des Conciles*, I, pp. 99 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 106-7.

lections such as those of Labbe-Cossart.

The Venetian, Nicola Coleti, was one of these. Between 1728-33 he issued a revised Labbe-Cossart (with some additions from Baluze and Harduoin) in twenty-three volumes. Gian Domenico Mansi, archbishop of Lucca, presented a six-volume supplement to Coleti (1748-52). The success of this publication decided Mansi to rework the whole of Labbe-Cossart-Coleti, which he did—until he ran out of funds after thirty-one volumes covering the period to the middle of the Council of Florence. In 1900 the Parisian house of Welter undertook a heliogravure reproduction of Mansi's *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, using the Archbishop's redaction as far as it went, then continuing with Coleti. This whole collection has been carried through the period of the Vatican Council. Laclercq subscribes to this criticism of Mansi's efforts: defective work . . . veritable scientific mystification . . . swarming with errors . . . enormous and almost impossible mass . . . lacking in critical sense . . . a work to be redone.⁸

Despite the fact that the Vatican archives were still officially closed, August Theiner, prefect of those deposits, violated his office by communicating the order of business of the Council of Trent. He was deposed, naturally. After his death, his imperfectly edited *Acta genuina Concilii Tridentini* (Zagreb, in Croatia, 1875) appeared. This, too, was taken from the forbidden Vatican archives.

The editing of the Tridentine Canons and Decrees has been more satisfactory. In 1618 an edition was presented by Gallemart (*Canones et decreta Conc. Trid.* 1567, Colon., 1618).⁹ An anonymously published edition appeared in English in 1687. According to Waterworth's criticism, it was an almost ridiculous translation.¹⁰ Judoc le Plat published his work in 1799, and it was on this that Waterworth based his English version (with an historical preface). Smets contributed a Latin-German edition in 1847. In 1853 Richter and Schulte produced a stereotyped edition. The first volume of Michel's scholarly annotated work was published in 1938 as a part of the *Histoire des Conciles*. In 1941 the Dominican H. J. Schroeder issued a Latin-English edition of the Tridentine Canons and Decrees.

During this whole period considerable grubbing was being done in national, local and private archives. Monographs and collections such as Dom Martène's *Amplissima collectio* (1724-33) contained correspondence and memoirs favorable to the Roman Court as an antidote to a similar, but anti-papal, collection published by Gillot (1608) and amplified by Dupuy (1654). Father Labbe in 1667 published his *Sacrosancti Oecumenici Tridentini . . . canones et decreta* which contained some conciliar papers and much information relative to the various secular rulers and their representatives connected with the Council. In 1781 Le Plat began to edit the *Monumentorum ad hist. Conc. Trid. potissimum illustrandam spectantium. ampl. collectio*. J. Mendham, in 1842, edited Cardinal Paleotta's, a conciliar delegate's, writings relative to Trent. G. J. Planck published *Anec-*

dota ad historiam Concilii Tridentini pertinentia (Göttingen, 1791-1818). In 1871-72 Thomas Sickel's work *Achtenstücke aus österr. Archiven zur Gesch. des Concils von Trient* (Vienna) appeared. Calenzio published new materials found in non-papal Italian archives in his *Documenti inediti e nuovi lavori letterarii sul Concilio di Trento* (Rome, 1874). Dollinger brought forth an edition of *Ungedruckte Berichte und Tagebücher zur Geschichte des Concils von Trient* (Nordlingen, 1876). Druffel and his continuator Brandi also worked through non-papal archival deposits, and their collection of diplomatic correspondence *Monumenta Tridentina* (Munich) appeared in 1889.

Other works, such as Grisar's *Disputationes Tridentinae Jacobi Laynez* (Ratisbon, New York, 1886), the correspondence of St. Charles Borromeo, part of which has been collected in *Die Römische Kurie und des Konzil von Trient unter Pius IV.*, and biographies such as Constant's of Cardinal Marone and Evennett's of the Cardinal of Lorraine add important information and interesting sidelights to the story of Trent.

Due very much to the persistent efforts and requests of scholars, Leo XIII, in January, 1881, opened the treasures of the Vatican archives to students of the world. Joseph Hergenröther was named first Cardinal-Prefect. Documents up to 1831 were to be available. At long last a definitive history of Trent was a possibility.

To papal credit it must be said that even at the time of Trent the Cardinal Secretary, Masserelli, and Paul III proposed to give the "inside story". Documents—volumes—marked *Imprimenda* were found in the Tridentine collection. But the deaths of these two men, plus scurrilous attacks on certain members and actions of the Council and the distortion of the decrees by Protestant writers (for instance, the Centuriators of Magdeburg) made subsequent papal authorities doubt that any objective story would be told.

To exploit the Vatican treasures the Preussische Historische Institut (1888) and the Österreichisches Institut für Geschichtsforschung (1883) were founded. These scholarly Institutes published such monumental works as the *Nunciaturberichte aus Deutschland*, based on the diplomatic correspondence of the papacy. It has aided tremendously in the clarification of Tridentine history. A third remarkable organization, founded in 1889, is the Görresgesellschaft whose superb work *Concilium Tridentinum* is and will be the great source for the history of Trent. This monumental collection, begun in 1901, is designed to publish the available *Diaria*, edited by Sebastian Merkle; the *Acta*, edited by Stephen Ehse; the *Epistolae*, edited by Godfrey Buschbell; and *Tractatus* (treatises and theses on matters of importance to the Council), edited by Vincent Schweitzer. The contributions of these learned scholars through their critical analyses, corrections, and notations of variants are inestimable boons to historians.

Cardinal Hergenröther, who continued Bishop Hefele's *Concilien-geschichte*, brought the story up to the third year of the reign of Paul III. P. Richard, having the abundant materials brought to light by the Institutes, Görres Historical Society, and other scholars, published,

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⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁹ Cf. Hergenröther, *Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte*, III, Freiburg, 1886, p. 234 bibliographical note.

¹⁰ Waterworth, *op. cit.*, p. vii, note (b).

History and the Liberal Arts Program

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Note: This paper is the presidential address, delivered in June, 1945, before the Historical Association of Greater Saint Louis. The ideas expressed may be stimulating to a wider audience of historians.

THERE is no one of us who seriously doubts that the crisis through which the world has been passing these last years has already worked and will continue to work far-reaching changes in our own and in men's lives in general. The schools, colleges, and universities, too, each in one way or another has already felt the impact of war. Our male student body has been depleted or, at very least, has become unusually restless. And on the secondary level, when Selective Service has not taken our students, the high wages of war industry even for part-time work, the insistent and consistent cry for workers, have been an irresistible temptation to many youngsters, either to give up their schooling altogether or to make it subservient to gainful occupations. Had the war affected only our student clientele, there would be less reason to fret and worry. V-Day will come; industry will reconvert; veterans will be clamoring for jobs; boys and girls will be forced out and back into the schools; others will return from the services or, at least, be left with us long enough to complete their high-school or college programs. Were student numbers our sole source of worry, our thoughts need not be so troubled. That problem will solve itself automatically, with time.

The future, however, holds problems of another nature, problems created by conditions of the present and the immediate past. Trends are rather definitely pronounced. Perhaps, you may not share my alarm, but I dare say that many of you do. In all events, it may be worth while to give a few moments of consideration to the subject of the liberal arts tradition in postwar education.

The mechanized war which we have fought has tended to have its effect on our schools and colleges. Education has become very heavily weighted on the side of science and mathematics. Physics for radio and radar; chemistry for purposes of chemical warfare; mathematics for navigation and a thousand other uses; these studies have run away with the field. Excellent disciplines, true; but rather cold and impersonal. Educative, yes; but hardly formative, employing the word in its broadest sense. The humanistic and social branches have been shoved into the background. No one will quarrel with a temporary allocation of emphasis—it would have been foolish, not to say unpatriotic, to have set any study, no matter how fine in itself, as a hurdle between ourselves and victory. But we can with justice inquire: What of the days and years after victory, after a victory to which this new mathematico-scientific emphasis in education will have contributed so mightily? Will the humanities be allowed to come out of the corner, once again to assume their wonted place of honor in our curricula and educational scheme? Will the times allow this sort of educational reconversion? Will the student

clientele of Tomorrow accept it? Here I am not talking so much of the veterans. They are likely to desire to build on the skills which the armed services have given them. They will have lost precious years of youth and, with perfect justification, will be primarily interested in using the federal aid at their disposal to fit themselves as quickly as possible for gainful civilian occupation or profession. But in a year or two or three after victory the veteran is not likely to make up more than a negligible portion of our student body. I am thinking of the veteran's younger brothers and sisters, the school generation of Tomorrow. What about liberal education and these youngsters? As we look into the future, more than one or other of us is probably asking himself or herself the question: Are we destined in our day to see the passing of the American liberal arts tradition in education? Can we, do we wish to do something to prevent such a catastrophe? I believe that as historians we are admirably placed to do our share.

American education, even before the war, was seriously threatened with the fatal virus of more-or-less-complete utilitarianism. Education was already becoming more a preparation for business or profession and less a training for life. Recent events have accentuated this orientation. Of course, we cannot and would not desire to divorce education completely from all immediate usefulness in the important job of making a living. We are not living in the Old Regime where one class can look forward to a life in large measure divorced from economic responsibility. We have no peasant class to feed us by the labor of its strong arms, which need no "book learning" to be efficient. All our students, with rare exceptions, will have to engage in the great economic battle of earning a livelihood. But we want to give them more than tools or, if you will, weapons. We have hardly justified our existence as educators, if we fail to train our students to live and to enjoy living to the fullest capacity of their rational natures. We will find it impossible to achieve this noble purpose if the humanistic tradition goes into the discard.

We look back with pride to the men who gave us our start as a nation. They set American standards, not only in politics, but also in the realm of ideals. They were what they were largely because of their training. The sort of education which made them has become something of a sacred tradition which we have sought to perpetuate, hoping that each generation will raise up men of their stamp to carry on the work which they so excellently began. Theirs was education of the liberal and humanistic stamp. There was Latin and Greek, literature and history, philosophy and religion. The schools of the Age of the Founding Fathers had not lost contact with the great Western tradition, born in Greece, crystallized in the medieval universities, enriched in the days of the Renaissance, broadened in succeeding centuries to include that acquaintance with Nature and the Universe which would make man more fully man, yet

without turning him into a machine. Man was its starting-point, man its chief concern, with large space given to Him from whom man came and toward whom man tends.

The rapid advance of the physical and the life sciences during the nineteenth century brought more of creation within the scope of man's potential knowledge. A good and an excellent thing, but it worked a strange fascination. Man allowed himself to become so absorbed in the Nature which he was investigating and whose laws he was seeking to uncover that he tended to forget himself. Such knowledge became only too frequently first a norm by which to judge and evaluate everything else; then it threatened to be an end in itself, rather than a means to a fuller and a higher truth. And, simultaneously, skills, intellectual as well as manual, came to replace ideas in education. And the war has crystallized all this.

In the unpleasant predicament in which liberal education is likely to find itself in the next years, it may fall to the lot of us historians to save something of the humanistic spirit, much of it, in fact. The classicist is well nigh powerless. Too few modern men and even fewer students will give him so much as a hearing for his wares. Greek has almost completely passed from both secondary and collegiate curricula. Latin is facing a like fate. Universities which once made Latin an absolute prerequisite for a Bachelor of Arts degree have lowered the bars, and it no longer remains as an academic hurdle on the path to graduation. Some students still enroll in the Latin classes, but they are fewer and fewer, and are considered by their fellows to be a bit on the peculiar side. The classicist, obviously, is not going to be in a position to keep the students of the future in touch with the humanistic, in contact with man.

The English teacher and the professor of literature has a chance. But our own language is too often looked upon simply as a tool and too rarely as a key to the minds and hearts and emotions of great men of our race. The modern language teacher is in much the same position. Better placed than all would seem to be the historian.

History will retain its position in the curriculum. Quite apart from its recognized value in the educative process, it has proved itself. An example: In the busy schedule to which the trainees of the ASTP were subjected, history found a place in practically every program. It was THE one of the liberal, social, or humanistic subjects—designate the category as you will—to retain its *droit de cité*. We can feel confident that it will be in the curriculum of the future, no matter what complexion this last may assume in the next years. Hence, here is a medium by which we can help to keep alive the liberal and humanistic tradition of American education.

History is the story of man—political, economic, social, intellectual, religious. Man is the central theme. What men did; what they said; what plans they laid; their successes and their failures; their virtues and their lapses—such is the stuff of which history is made. Anything and everything that touches man and men is of vital interest to the historian, as he seeks to resurrect the past and make it relive for the amusement, the edi-

fication, the instruction of, or, perhaps, as a warning to his fellows. Man is his subject rather than men. Kings, for example, are important as human beings, not as numbers in a list of monarchs; and so of presidents and emperors. Institutions are important in proportion as they have and do influence the lives of men, not in themselves; and so of governments and laws and societies. Let the historian lose contact with the human, be it in the name of science or anything else, and he has sacrificed his power.

Much has been written by historians to justify their inclusion in the ranks of the scientists. An interesting commentary on the trend of the times during the last half century and more! No one will deny that the so-called scientific method should apply both to historical research and historical exposition. The historian must gather his facts carefully and present them honestly, as much as he can leaving himself out of the story which he tells. But he cannot leave man out. And just so long as man is there, history will never be a science in the strict understanding of the term. There are no hard and fast physical laws to human conduct such as the laws which govern inanimate Nature and even animate Nature on the lower level. Man's free will enters the picture and becomes the supreme variable with which science cannot cope. It is man's free will which sets man off from all the rest of visible creation; it is his free will which makes him what he is; it is his free will which puts history in a class by itself, preventing it from becoming a mechanistic discipline.

However, even taking free will into account, human actions will follow general patterns, but not inevitable patterns. Hungry men, more often than not, do certain things; proud men act much the same way; weak men rather consistently fail in the face of obstacles; ambitious men know few new approaches. But there is always that variable underneath, charged with the potential to shape man's action differently. Yet it is always man who acts. And precisely herein lies the historian's power as a humanist. He can discuss the ancient Egyptian or Greek and what he relates may be specifically true of the year 2000 B.C. or 450 B.C., but generically he is telling a story which can have immediate bearing on the youngsters sitting at his feet. Why? Because he is telling them about themselves or their neighbors or their friends or, perhaps, their enemies. Time and space become accidentals when history is taught with the human factor dominant. Equally incidental are race and color, social condition, and the rest.

The ability to peel off the exterior wrappings, to crack the shell of the individual and the accidental to get at the kernel of the universal has been the thing which has made the world classics classic. Oedipus, Hamlet, Tartuffe, Faust, Don Quixote, and their fellows have lived on for centuries because they are types of "everlasting man", because they can and do move in our modern milieu just as surely as they did in that Antiquity, those Middle Ages, that *Siglo de Oro*, or that reign of the *Roi Soleil*, into which their creators cast them. Much of humanistic education has been built around such masterpieces. Young minds have been broadened according to acquaintance with these great universal patterns. But

will education in the future have time or place for the world's classics? May they not be passing out in favor of cold mathematics or impersonal science, along with religion and those other essential constituents of humanism? Hand and head seem to be envisioned, and the heart of man is disregarded. Machines need no hearts.

Again I affirm that it is going to be up to us historians to keep the proper balance, to keep the whole man in the picture and to prevent Nature from dwarfing or obliterating him altogether. The other social scientists, whose wares are not so suspect to the modern age, may lend us a hand; but they, too, are tempted by the spirit of the times. The economist finds the pull to the mechanistic, the statistical, the econometric very heavy. The sociologist is too often in search of formulae, which are bound to prove inadequate and disappointing. The political scientist sometimes takes the "scientist" more seriously than the political. We still have man as our only proper object. No matter what our approach, we must get back to him, be it through his politics or his social institutions, his economic activities, his philosophy, his laws, his wars, his art, his music.

It is not so difficult a task to keep man living in our history classes. There are outstanding personalities who have left their stamp on the lives of thousands, men after whom whole historic ages have been named. They had their human side. Emphasize it. Nations, too, can, with care, be reduced to the common denominator of the men of whom they are composed. How our own beloved nation is like to the young man who has known early success, who has been presented with a job to do and has done it well. There is a certain swagger, a boastfulness, an enthusiasm, a spirit of idealism, a bit of impatience with those who do not move as fast or whose efforts do not bring the same measure of success, a dash of intolerance, a good deal of the inevitable immaturity of youth. Your students know young men of such a type. Such young men can help them understand the United States better. Men with an inferiority complex often try by exaggerated attitudes to cover up the sense of inferiority beneath. Could the student find Argentina among his or her acquaintance? The persecution complex leads men to rash deeds. People are leagued against them; they never get their due; and so they set out to win by force what they believe is theirs. Could that be Germany? Your students know very practical men who "think" better with their hands than with their heads. Rome, perhaps, or maybe even Britain? There are other men whose thoughts run away with them, whose heads are in the clouds and whose feet touch the earth but lightly. Greece? Other men who live in the light of a glory that has long since passed, who are haughty in the memory of greatness that once was. Spain? And so on down the line. The historian would find it hard to avoid being humanistic in his approach.

Institutions and movements can fit the same pattern. The Feudal Age shows that man's instinct for security and self-preservation is deeper than the noble impulse for freedom and liberty. Radicals are never as iconoclastic when they come to office as they were in the days when they were fighting for position—Jefferson President and Jefferson pre-1800, or Communism in 1918 and the

NEP. Revolutions, when the individual can cover himself with the anonymity of the mob, show man in less pretty light; they also show man's tendency toward a middle position. Examples and suggestions could be multiplied, and all would find man at their core.

If the tradition of humanism is to be preserved, we would seem to be the ones destined to do so. We have a challenge. Historians, let us meet it. Man will never be turned into a machine or a chemical formula as long as we do our duty.

The Capuchin Lawrence

(Continued from page twenty-eight)

varia to carry out the decree. The duke carried out his commission with energy but also with great prudence. At least in this one city the Catholics had their rights restored.

But the Protestants in the empire were aroused to fury, even though this was opposition to only one of their many aggressions. At the same time they were putting all their efforts to greater game, the acquisition of the duchies of Jülich and Cleves. In this they had the effective support of France, England and Holland. Thus encouraged and strengthened, they agreed to form the Protestant Union, which was as much a league against the Church as against the imperial house.

Now the Catholic princes were at least partially aroused from their lethargy, for they sensed the danger that was slowly encompassing them. In self-defense they formed their own Catholic League (1609), under the leadership of Maximilian of Bavaria. It was not too strong a league, for most of the Catholic princes still gave only half-hearted support because they feared to provoke the powerful Protestant princes to new aggressions, and because they were not too much attached to the vacillating imperial house that would greatly benefit by the alliance of the Catholic and might make use of its newly gained power to suppress them. At the same time they did not expect much help from the Hapsburgs, who were hopelessly entangled in family feuds and were not too sincere in their Catholic affiliation. Yet these Catholic princes began to fear that the downfall of the Hapsburgs might spell their own ruin, and they attached themselves to the Catholic League.

But this league was too weak to stand by itself; it had to seek help elsewhere. When Pope Paul V was first approached, he hesitated to declare himself an open ally because he feared that this might precipitate a general European conflagration, and he still seemed to hope that the converted Bourbon, Henry IV of France, might yet desist from his ambitious endeavors to control Europe through the intrigues of the Protestant Union. Yet when he saw the danger that lurked in his hesitation, he agreed to help strengthen the position of the Catholic League by urging an alliance with Philip III of Spain. He was willing that the League send Lawrence of Brindisi on this most important mission.

Although suffering severely from physical ailments, Lawrence obediently accepted the burdensome task and set out for the Spanish court. During many weeks he was in almost daily conference with the king and influ-

ential courtiers. All Europe buzzed with excitement and rumors concerning the outcome of the legation, and scandalmongers did not hesitate to attack the legate. But Phillip eventually gave his assent to the alliance, insisting however on the participation of Archduke Ferdinand in the league's councils in order that his Hapsburg family in Austria might not lose its prestige. This spelled weakness for the Catholic union, and eventually brought its collapse, on account of the known vacillation of the imperial house in religious matters. But for the time it afforded much needed financial assistance. It brought the balance that offset the alliance of France with the Protestants, for Spain was still the predominant power in Europe. A little while later Henry IV was assassinated, and the Protestant Union lost one of its strongest supports. Therefore its members thought it expedient to become reconciled with the Catholic League. And thus the immediate danger of a general European war was averted. Lawrence's efforts were crowned with success. Some years after Lawrence had departed from the German scene the conflict was again awakened, and then in all its fury.

After the conclusion of the discussions in Spain Lawrence departed for Rome to give a full report to Paul V. In the meantime the pope had received an urgent appeal from Maximilian of Bavaria that the Capuchin be attached to his court. The pontiff readily assented because he had great confidence in the holy diplomat, and he appointed him papal nuncio to the court of Maximilian. At the same time Philip made Lawrence his ambassador to the Bavarian court and the Catholic League. And to these duties the duke added the office of chaplain to the Bavarian army.

While engaged in these diplomatic matters, the humble son of Saint Francis did not permit such worldly attachments to interfere with his apostolic zeal for souls. He went up and down Bavaria preaching the eternal truths and converting many heretics. At this time the pope also commanded Lawrence to arrange a marriage between Matthias, the future emperor, and the sister of Bavaria's Maximilian, hoping that by the knitting together of these two houses the Catholic cause might be better served. Although Lawrence does not seem to have expected a happy issue of the negotiations, he obeyed the command of the pope and was able to remove all preliminary obstacles, particularly the opposition of the proposed bride. The final overtures, however, miscarried and the marriage did not take place.

But for the time at least the outlook in Germany had become much brighter. Since the presence of Lawrence was no longer considered of vital importance, and his bodily ailments were increasing due to the inclement weather, he was permitted to return to Italy in 1613. This did not bring a surcease of labors, even in diplomatic matters, for the pope insisted that he be engaged in various matters for the welfare of the Church and the Italian peoples. These finally brought him once more to the presence of the king of Spain at Lisbon in Portugal, where he died July 22, 1619, sixty years to the day after his birth.

Saint Lawrence of Brindisi had performed important work for the Church in the empire through his diplo-

matic missions. He had thereby not prevented the eventual outbreak of the Thirty Years War and the resulting chaos, but he had helped to defer the catastrophe and might have prevented it entirely if the heart of the empire had been more thoroughly Catholic. As it was, Lawrence had played his part well for the welfare of the Church on the stage of Europe. Saint and scholar, he proved himself a most capable diplomat.

Historians of Trent

(Continued from page thirty-four)

in 1930, a two-volume history of Trent as part of the Hefele-Hergenröther series, which had meanwhile been translated into French and annotated by the Benedictine, Father Leclercq. Richard's History, in which he brings out the true relation of the papacy and the Council,¹¹ is the best work on Trent, and probably will be modified only by incidental considerations, if and when new materials are found. Michel has added a tenth volume to this series with his scholarly edition of the Tridentine canons and decrees.

Thus it is that the history of Trent, "the center of the Catholic Reform, . . . the greatest event in the last five hundred years in Catholic History . . .," becomes known in our own time—four centuries after its assembly.

¹¹ Cf. P. Richard, "La Monarchie pontificale jusqu'au concile du Trente", *Revue D'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, XX (1924), 413-56, in which he discusses a new approach to this problem.

Latin America

(Continued from page thirty-two)

early colonists built well.

The continental republics, moreover, abound in rare types of colonial ecclesiastical architecture. A baroque style predominates, although the façades and altars are often decorated in churrigueresque or rococo. *La Compañía* and *San Francisco*, in Quito, are considered pure baroque. Their wood-carved ceilings and walls are adorned with eighteen and twenty-carat gold-leaf which is as brilliant today as it was three centuries earlier. The stone façade of the former is probably the most ornate on the southern continent.

Mexico, despite her years of religious persecution, has preserved a considerable number of elegant churches and monasteries. The massive cathedrals of Mexico City and Puebla, cruciform in structure, are elaborate beyond description. Both these medieval-like churches number dozens of side altars and chapels, all heavy with gold ornamentation. The *Sagrario*, adjoining the cathedral of Mexico City, is probably the best example of churrigueresque decoration. Its detailed stone-carved façade, with innumerable intricate niches and windings, is unsurpassed in this hemisphere. To the southwest the quaint city of Taxco shelters *La Santísima Trinidad*, the most complete and perfect monument of ecclesiastical art. Herein one finds murals by the famous Spanish master, Miguel Cabrera. In Puebla the rare workmanship of the *Capilla del Rosario* (1596) has won for it the title of "Eighth Wonder of the World."

This same type of architecture also prevails in Mexico's old monasteries: chiefly at Tepotzotlán, the old Jesuit novitiate; and at Churubusco. The buildings, particularly the churches, are all of magnificent proportions with interiors enriched by gilded columns, polychrome chapels, and in some cases onyx floors.

Cuzco, Peru also possesses magnificent old churches, many of which were dismantled during the troublesome era that followed the wars of independence. Samples of their exquisitely-wrought silver and gold altar-ware can be found as far south as Buenos Aires where an impressive collection is displayed in a restored colonial mansion, and labelled "loot from Cuzco churches" stolen in the epoch of the infamous old *caudillo*, Rosas.

Among the many colonial churches of Bogotá, a unique chapel, *La Tercera*, is especially renowned. Its interior walls are of carved wood, as are the majority of these baroque structures. The distinguishing feature here, however, is a lack of gold ornamentation. The wood has been left natural, and, after these long centuries, has mellowed to a rich deep brown.

In Lima, "City of the Kings," *San Pedro* and the cathedral are the most obvious reminders of a glorious past. The former possesses a rare collection of famous paintings, while the restored cathedral is remarkable for its original silver high altar and the double-tiered chancel, hand-carved of cedar and gift of Carlos V to his distant subjects.

The southern tip of South America also has striking colonial churches. Córdoba's structures emphasize the Moorish influence on the old Spanish style and are brilliantly decorated with tile-work in blue, orange, green, and yellow colors. Santa Fé (Argentina) has yet more to contribute. Her three churches, *San Ignacio*, *Santo Domingo*, and *San Francisco*, have rare altars, rails, and ceilings of rich Paraguayan wood carved centuries ago by the Indians in the famous old Jesuit reductions.

Brazil's ancient churches are considerably better preserved than those of the Spanish republics. The work of restoration is in the hands of the *Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, organized during the early years of Getulio Vargas' administration. The most remarkable churches in Rio de Janeiro are *Sao Bento*, completely covered with heavy gilt wood-carvings from vaulted ceiling to floor. *Sao Francisco* parallels it in rich, ornate magnificence but is somewhat smaller in proportions. In contrast to all this heavy splendor there is the chapel in *Santa Casa*, richly simple, whose chaste white walls are ornamented with a delicate rococo theme employing the palm, shell, and seven-armed candelabra. Within this edifice the old *jacarandá* (rose-wood) altar and pulpit used by the highly revered missionary, Padre Anchieta, are preserved. Bahía, capital of the colony up to 1763, numbers seventy good-sized churches, three of which are outstanding: the simply-decorated cathedral (once Jesuit) where Mem de Sa, colonial governor from 1558-1572, lies buried; *Sao Francisco*, rich in wood-carvings that represent the more ornate style of the era; and *Nossa Senhora da Conceicao de Praia*, built on elegant lines, whose marble walls and altars were brought piece by piece from Portugal. In Recife (State of Per-

nambuco) *Nossa Senhora do Carmo* and *Sao Francisco* compare in splendor with the baroque structures of Quito. Nearby, in the quaint city of Olinda, *Sao Francisco* is said to have the best murals in the world.

Not only are all these churches magnificent edifices, but their adjoining sacristies are also handsomely furnished and decorated. Tables, chests of drawers, and cabinets of hand-carved purple *jacarandá* are priceless treasures, one American connoisseur futilely offering \$10,000 for an antique which humbly serves the sacristan.

The State of Minas Gerais (interior of Brazil) is another treasure-house of sublime architectural and decorative art that dates from the early eighteenth century. In 1935 one of its old gold-mining towns (Ouro Preto) was declared a national monument. Here, dozens of churches display the talents of *Aleijadinho* (little cripple), the mulatto sculptor-architect whose masterpieces show an African influence on the Portuguese baroque. The painter of this era is Atayde. His rarest works are to be found in several of the mining towns of this district. Because of his generous use of striking hues of red and blue, his incomparable murals are easily recognized.

The independence era also has its interesting shrines. The two great liberators are well-interred. Simón Bolívar rests in the *Panteón* at Caracas; while José de San Martín's tomb is erected in the cathedral of Buenos Aires. Both the *Casa Natal* and the *Quinta de Bolívar* are converted into museums that display many Bolivarian treasures. A *Casa Histórica San Mateo*, on the road to Maracay, is pointed out as the old *hacienda* to which the great liberator is said to have brought his little Spanish bride where she soon pined away and died. Nearby, the battlefields of Carabobo honor the hero with a magnificent semi-circular monument erected at the far end of a shrub-lined boulevard which is flanked by his sixteen generals. Bolívar's sword, a gold blade with hilt of precious diamonds, is displayed in a museum in Caracas. Its workmanship and value is estimated to be greater than the sword of Napoleon Bonaparte.

San Martín's shrines are to be found in Chile and Argentina. The most impressive of them are the Chilean battlefields of Chacabuco and Maipú. At the former spot the hero and the Bernardo O'Higgins consolidated their forces and won independence for the country. At Maipú, where the two generals met and won a decisive battle, a tiny chapel has been erected in answer to a vow which San Martín should have made. It is dedicated to Our Lady of Mount Carmel, who, since that time has been revered as the patroness of the Chilean army.

Brazil, too, has its early nineteenth-century relics, all of them reminiscent of the days of empire after Joao VI of Portugal brought his court to the western shores of the Atlantic. Impressive imperial palaces in which the Braganza family resided, churches and institutions they established, and botanical and zoological gardens they planned are all very well-preserved. The *Museu Imperial* in Petropolis (once the emperor's summer home) houses such interesting treasures as Dom Pedro's diamond-studded crown, his sceptre, and other jewelled accessories. Family portraits, furniture, and robes worn by members of the royal *entourage* have also been collected. The table at which the emperor signed his abdication papers is another of its prized possessions.

This compilation of monumental relics merely scratches the surface of a long line of interesting historical sites found in Latin America. However, of almost greater import to the historian are the numerous archival centers interspersed throughout these realms, where thousands of valuable colonial documents and manuscripts have been gathering dust during the past four centuries. Each country has its national archive directed by scholarly gentlemen who are eager and most willing to assist research students in using the facilities of their libraries. In Minas Gerais, for example, Dr. Oscar Berhing, one of the curators of the *Arquivo Público Mineiro*, has unearthed and made available many precious manuscript-volumes compiled during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among the more fascinating pieces on display is a *Matrícula de Escravos* which lists thousands of negro slaves brought from Africa to work on the sugar plantations of Pernambuco, and who later supplanted the Indians from Sao Paulo in toiling in the gold-mines of Ouro Preto. Cataloguing their name, age, sex, purchase-price, and ability, these fascinating pages are detailed enough to reveal the places of African embarkation.

This archive also possesses a list of governors who have served the State up to 1732, a considerable line of them having come and gone before the birth of George Washington. Early church-ledgers are also on the shelves, the most interesting being a *Livro de Desobriga* (Book of Confessions) of the parish church, *Bom Sucesso*. It indicates the contributions of the wealthy and the fact that the poor were excluded from assessment by order of the Portuguese king. A *Book of Parishes* lists the first sixteen churches of the district; while the *Budget of Diamonds*, in addition to enumerating the vast quantity and quality of precious stones taken from the mines of Diamantina, also indicates that there was always a *padre* with the men as they worked in the mines.

The archive of Brazil's Foreign Office, housed in the century-old palace of the Viscount de Itamaraty (of empire days), also has invaluable material. This is located in Rio de Janeiro. Its library of 250,000 selective-books is well-catalogued and considered the best collection of diplomatic works in the Americas. It includes early Dutch, Italian, and French volumes, as well as German and English editions of a later era. Here, on display, is the first book printed in the country (1747), and a January, 1809 issue of the *Gazeto do Rio de Janeiro*, the first monthly periodical published in Brazil. The Map Division, under the directorship of Dr. Murillo Bastos, consists of 5,000 charts and *portolani*. It is allegedly the best on either of the American continents. Two of its rarest pieces are beautifully illuminated parchments drawn in 1512 and 1514. The former, by the famous Venetian Jerónimo Marini, outlines for the first time the territory of Brazil on the South-American continent. The 1514 map, by another Venetian cartographer, Fray Barbolan, is renowned for its greater accuracy and brilliant coloring. Recently, from Britain, the Office received two addition-seventeenth-century charts done by the royal cosmographer, Albernas.

Probably the best collection of bound newspapers (in Brazil) is to be found in the *Biblioteca del Estado*, of Recife. Here, there are complete sets of the newspapers of several states, particularly of Rio de Janeiro, Sao

Paulo, and Pernambuco. The beginnings of a manuscripts-division is evident in the fast-accumulating number of documents and of personal letters which have been turned over by the more historical-minded families of this region.

Private collections supplement the manuscripts-divisions of the large national libraries in each country. Thus, in Lima the Prado museum (a fifty-room *hacienda* belonging to the family of Peru's aristocratic president) has fascinating documents, many of which are addressed to the viceroys who governed colonial Peru. An old vault preserves several letters signed by Emperor Carlos V, informing the Peruvian viceroy of his abdication in favor of *Felipe Segundo*, for whom he begs "fidelity and love". This *cédula* is dated 15 January 1556. A second communique announces the marriage of his son, Don Felipe, to "*a Serenísima Reina de Inglaterra*". His characteristic signature, "*Yo, el Rey*," is attached to several letters, one (1589) begging his loyal subjects for more gold, as the *Patrimonio Real* was exhausted because of the "wars against the Turks, Moors, heretics, and castigating Pirates".

And so one could go on listing an overwhelming number of interesting and intriguing manuscripts that are tucked away in libraries and private collections. Topics for research on almost any phase of Latin-American history are seemingly inexhaustible. An unbiased presentation of the transmission of Iberian culture and the development of Hispanic-American civilization is still to be placed before the public.

Alexander II

(Continued from page thirty)

domen. His right hand was torn, pieces of the wedding-ring being driven into the flesh, and his face was disfigured. The body actually was a mangled mass of flesh and blood and broken bones. Amputation would be useless, so the body was covered and the arch-priest Rojdet-svensky summoned. Alexander was restored sufficiently to receive the Viaticum, but shortly after the Sacred Species had been placed in his mouth with the golden spoon he lapsed again. At 3:30 in the afternoon, St. Petersburg time, his wife closed his eyes. He was dead.¹⁰

Meanwhile outside,

an anxious crowd surrounded the Winter Palace. Many believed exaggerated the report which they had heard as to the gravity of the wounds of the Emperor. At 3:40 o'clock the imperial flag in the courtyard was slowly lowered to half-mast: a sure sign of the death of the Czar. An unspeakable feeling of sadness and compassion settled down upon the crowd. A general advanced and announced the sad event. All the bystanders took off their hats and made the sign of the cross in honor of the memory of the dead man.¹¹

Over at the scene of the tragedy a great crowd was eagerly gathering relics of their murdered sovereign. They pressed upon the guards who kept them from trampling under foot the sacred blood of the anointed

¹⁰ A short account of these incidents can be found in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, VI (January-June 1881), 117, 118, where *The St. Petersburg Herald* for March 14 is quoted. A longer account is given in *The Tablet*, XXV New Series (January-June 1881), 437ff. A detailed account is given by Victor Laferté, *Alexandre II. Détails inédits sur sa vie intime et sa mort*, Bale-Genève, Lyon, 1882.

¹¹ *La Civiltà Cattolica*, *ibid.*, 118.

ruler of all the Russians.

Back in the palace, the body was removed to the library, where it was embalmed and the legs amputated. There an autopsy was held which showed that Alexander had been in good health and could have lived ten years longer. On Wednesday the body was taken to the chapel in the Winter Palace, and on Friday to the church of Saints Peter and Paul in the fortress, where it lay in state till the funeral on Sunday, March 28. No decorations or crown graced the remains: only an imperial mantle was thrown over the shoulders. Flowers and delegations came pouring into the city from the provinces; crowds were admitted to the church day and night while priests read the Gospels continuously over the remains and recited the Office twice each day in the church. For a certain period at noon the imperial family alone was allowed near the body. At 8:00 in the evening the Court was present.

Finally, two weeks after Alexander's death, his funeral obsequies were held. They began at 11:30 in the morning, with the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg presiding, and lasted for hours. The imperial family passed the catafalque, kissed the dead Emperor's hand, and withdrew. Then Alexander III, successor to the throne, covered his father's remains with a great imperial mantle of purple and ermine. Cannon boomed and bells tolled, as the body was taken to a crypt on the left side of the church and laid next to the place where rested his seven-year-old daughter. At Rome Pope Leo XIII authorized a Solemn Requiem Mass in the church of the Dominicans for the repose of the soul of the dead Emperor.¹²

Fall of Nihilism

But what of the Nihilists? In spite of the vigilance of the police, a proclamation issued by the Executive Committee appeared in a conspicuous place. It stated:

The Executive Committee consider it necessary once more to announce to all the world that he repeatedly warned the tyrant now assassinated, repeatedly advised him to put an end to his homicidal obstinacy and to restore to Russia its natural rights. Every one knows that the tyrant paid no attention to these warnings and pursued his former policy. Reprisals continued. The Executive Committee never drop their weapons. They resolved to execute the despot at whatever cost. On the first (fourteenth) of March this was done.

We address ourselves to the newly crowned Alexander the Third, reminding him that he must be just. Russia, exhausted by famine, worn out by the arbitrary proceedings of the administration, continually losing its sons on the gallows, in the mines, in exile, or in wearisome inactivity caused by the present regime,—Russia cannot longer live thus. She demands liberty. She must live in conformity with her demands, her wishes, and her will. We remind Alexander the Third that every violator of the will of the people is the nation's enemy and tyrant. The death of Alexander the Second shows the vengeance which follows such acts.¹³

Triumph and exultation was the first reaction of the Nihilists. Their news organs, the *Freiheit* in London and the *Voix des Ouvriers* in Zurich, celebrated the event.

¹² Pope Leo XIII, who only three years before had written against just such Socialistic sects as Nihilism, hastened to express his sympathy to the Russian royal family and his horror at the deed. Cf. *La Civiltà Cattolica*, *ibid.*, 100. Although Mazzini has been called "The Apostle of Assassination," the Roman newspapers were rather quiet about the assassination of the Czar.

¹³ Quoted in Alfred Rambaud, *History of Russia*, Boston, Dana Estes and Company, 1882, 3 volumes, 3, 384, 385. Another and longer statement made by the Executive Committee ten days after the death of Alexander II and addressed to his successor, Alexander III, can be read in "Stepniak", *op. cit.*, 313-319.

Fellow-Nihilists in Paris placarded congratulations and encouragement to their Russian brethren.

Public sentiment, however, was decidedly against them. A press campaign began in Russia, Germany and Italy against Switzerland for harboring these revolutionaries, but as London and Paris were scarcely less guilty than Geneva, not much came of it. Nevertheless, because of the vigilance of the Russian police, the alienation of public opinion, and the appearance on the horizon of other forms of revolutionism, Nihilism as a small, highly organized and more or less efficient unit of terroristic activity in Russia was dying out. The last number of its organ, "The Will of the People" (*Narodnia Volia*) appeared in 1886, and on the anniversary of the death of Alexander II, March 14, in the following year, when three of its members carrying dynamite bombs in St. Petersburg for the assassination of Alexander III were arrested, the party itself, the *Narodovoltzi*, closed its brief but eventful career. Old-style Nihilists in prison in 1900 declared the mass and overground form of revolutionism a new thing. By that time acts of violence like the tragedy of March 14, 1881, were a personal, not corporate, responsibility.¹⁴

Of course, many of the Nihilists paid for this deed. One, Zhelyobof, was caught, as we have seen, even before the assassination. The actual assassin, Rysakov, half killed by his own bomb, lived to be executed later. Five of the conspirators, among them Kibalchich and Sophia Perovsky,¹⁵ were condemned and hanged. By February, 1883, the ranks were thinned past filling. The death they had brought to the Czar brought death to themselves.

The authority vested in rulers and governments is sacred: "There is no power but from God." Abuse in government leads to contempt for government, contempt for government leads to rebellion. Simple minds who can hold but one idea, or helpless, oppressed subjects who have an axe to grind do not distinguish between the person of the ruler and the principle of authority. A high-handed tyrant or an administration abusing the governed becomes identified with authority itself. Furthermore, this rebellion against authority led to rebellion against God. This was particularly true in Russia. For at least since the time of Peter the Great (d. 1725) not only was the Czar the embodiment of all civil power but somehow had become identified with deity, especially with the *omnipotence* of God.

... Peter the Great made practically God and Czar of one mould; he related the one to the other so closely and played with such overpowering success the part of earthly omnipotence that the Czar, head of the church, acquired, so to speak, the prestige of Deity ... the more civilization advanced in Russia the more absurd and impossible became this belief in a close relationship between God and Czar. The evidences before the people in the way of tyranny of the worst type, licentiousness verging into depravity, crushing despotism coupled to free indulgence of every low brutal craving, these evidences generated a just contempt for omnipotence of every description.¹⁶

Such a scandalous object-lesson on the part of the earth-

¹⁴ Cf. *The Forum*, XXXI (March-August, 1901), 413-423.

¹⁵ For a sketch of another female nihilist, cf. again "Stepniak", *op. cit.*, 267-312.

¹⁶ Anon., "The Assassination of Alexander II and Its Effects Upon the Future of Russia" in *The American Catholic Quarterly Review*, VI (January-October, 1881), 279-287, 283.

ly "deity" was apt to bring simple people to contempt of the true God, and to contempt of right and order. The danger of this became very proximate when leaders of revolutionary thought like Bakunin, for example, taught downright atheism.

The beginning of all those lies which have ground down this poor world in slavery is God. Tear out of your hearts the belief in the existence of God, for as long as an atom of that silly superstition remains in your minds you will never know what freedom is . . . The first lie is God, the second is right. Might invented the fiction of right in order to insure and strengthen her reign. Might makes and unmakes laws . . . Let your own happiness be your only law. But in order to get this law recognized and to bring about the proper relation between the majority and minority of mankind, you must destroy everything which exists in the shape of state or social organization. Our first work must be destruction and annihilation of everything as it now exists. You must accustom yourselves to destroy everything, the good with the bad, for if an atom of this old world remains, the new will never be created.¹⁷

From Marx to Stalin, from Bakunin to Lenin's widow, atheism has been a characteristic of Russian revolutionism. But without God there is no authority; without authority there is no law; without law ruler and subject cannot be. This is a perversion of society. For, though essentially equal in nature and in a common end set before all, civic inequality, the inequality between the governor and the governed, will exist always.

. . . equality among men consists in this, that one and all, possessing the same nature, are called to the sublime dignity of being sons of God; and, moreover, that one and the same end being set before all, each and every one has to be judged according to the same laws and to have punishments or rewards meted out according to individual deserts. There is, however, an inequality of right and authority which emanates from the Author of nature Himself, of whom all paternity in heaven and earth is named. As regards rulers and subjects, all without exception, according to Catholic teaching and precept, are mutually bound by duties and rights, in such manner that, on the one hand, moderation is enjoined on the appetite for power, and, on the other, obedience is shown to be easy, stable, and wholly honorable . . . And this, to the end that the State, like the Church, should form one body comprising many members, some excelling others in rank and importance, but all alike necessary to one another and solicitous for the common welfare.¹⁸

When contemptible Russian autocracy became so closely related to divinity, and obedience had come to amount in practice to slavery, both God and submission to law were despised and rejected.

Nihilism was not the only offending ideology of the nineteenth century. A whole catalogue of -isms had as their common characteristic the throwing off of authority. In fact, this was one of the most outstanding things about the century.

Few would be prepared to dispute the statement that rule by authority declined in the nineteenth century. Whereas the sixteenth century witnessed the break-away of a part of Europe from one definite spiritual authority, the principle was not disputed. The reformers sought it elsewhere, and in civil affairs a new power was appropriated by the rulers, who claimed that they had a divine right of government. Whether this break was responsible for the further changes which took place in the last one hundred and fifty years does not concern us; the fact is that the new change was not within authority but concerned with the very principle itself. In religion it tended to become the guarantee of experience, what Mr. Rawlinson called in *Foundations* 'corporate witness' or 'inspired witness'; in political theory Professor Laski in his *Grammar of Politics* confesses that he can find no meaning in the term 'sovereignty', and in morals the belief in a natural and divine law has for long been discarded.¹⁹ Liberalism is the word often used to express this general trend.

Liberalism means a throwing off of restraint, a cutting loose from what "oppresses" the individual. Historically, it has stood for resistance to absolute, arbitrary government, to undue inter-

ference with industry, trade, and business. It has also stood for rejection of authority in Church and State; for a repudiation of tradition, custom, and convention. Its history is that of a long series of emancipations by which modern man has without discrimination cast off whatever restrictions cramped his expanding energy. From the individualism of the pagan Renaissance, down through the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century, to the revolutions, political, economic, and intellectual of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was a steady evolving of the "autonomous" man. In the nineteenth century this contradiction in terms was further molded by a line of great "emancipators." This creature, this abstraction rather, which never did or could exist, was given a touch of nobility by Emmanuel Kant. It was inflated by writers whose mastery of words made men think they were gods. Finally, at the close of the century, it found in Friederick Nietzsche's demented drivelling a symbol of the "superman," and a warning against excessive Liberalism.²⁰

Once when the Czar-victim of the bomb plot of 1881 visited Paris, a relative of his—by her mother a descendant of Peter the Great—called on him. It was Natalie Narischkin. She had become a Sister of Charity, and was doing wonderful work among the poor of Paris. She begged to be allowed to do for Russia's oppressed people what she was doing for the unprivileged in a strange land. Hers was the true solution to the Russian problem and could have been the effective answer to Nihilism. In thinking of her, the picture of another woman comes before one's mind: of Sophia Perovsky, waving her handkerchief as a signal for the assassin to throw the bomb to kill Alexander II.

¹⁷ Quoted *ibid.*, 282.

¹⁸ John J. Wynne, S.J., *The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII*, Chicago, Benziger Brothers, 1903, 26, 27. The article quoted under note 2 above is a fine application of this true social teaching to the social condition in Russia in those times.

¹⁹ M. C. D'Arcy, "The Decline of Authority in the Nineteenth Century" in *European Civilization: Its Origin and Development*, Oxford University Press, 1935-1939, 7 volumes, 6, 1271.

²⁰ Raymond Corrigan, S. J., *The Church and the Nineteenth Century*, Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Company, 1938, 30. At the end of this book is given a ten-page list of nineteenth-century-isms with a thorough descriptive definition of each.

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ARTICLES

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The Aerarium and Roman Expansion
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BOOK REVIEWS

Arnold Brecht, *Federalism and Regionalism in Germany*

Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Wartime Mission to Spain*

Recent Books in Review

European History

Europe in Evolution, 1415-1815, by Geoffrey Bruun.
Boston. Houghton Mifflin Company. 1945. pp. xxv
+ 533. \$3.50

This is the best short text on modern European history now available. It does not replace the fuller narrative treatment of Carlton J. H. Hayes' standard text, nor is it intended to. Professor Bruun proposed to write a new kind of textbook, and he succeeded admirably. His purpose, he tells us, was "to survey the unfolding drama of European history, act by act, through four centuries . . . to characterize each century for the reader so that he will identify periods by their basic problems, their limitations, discoveries and prevailing moods . . . to trace those dynamic forces within European society which have transformed that society so amazingly, and have enabled Europeans to transmit the impact of Western civilization to all parts of the globe."

The book is divided into four almost equal parts, each treating of a century. Professor Bruun has taken 1415, 1515, 1615, 1715 and 1815 as his dividing years for the centuries he handles. Each section begins with a chapter covering the general trends in the century and giving a general description; the material is then broken down for more detailed treatment in the remaining chapters of the section. Each chapter is preceded by a "Factual Background and Summary" in which important dates and events are listed. The text of the chapters is, in the author's words, "interpretative rather than definitive." Even here the author's concern with his student-reader bears good fruit. The text is well written, and it makes for interesting, easy reading. There is a title phrase indented into each paragraph to identify its contents. The maps and the books in the bibliography are well chosen and should prove helpful to the ambitious student.

The character and ability of the author of such an "interpretative" text is of greater importance than would be the case if he had written a more factual, objective account. Bruun comes off well in this respect, however, for his sole interest is to discover and explain the truth for his readers. His sympathetic understanding of European affairs is apparent throughout, and his incorporation of the latest scholarship prevents him from making any of the usual blunders to be found in older works. Catholic history teachers will find that he is fair to the Church, as he is to all religions and all groups he treats of in the book.

Such a text as this raises questions in the reviewer's mind—to which he does not have the answers. He wonders, in the first place, if such an "interpretative" text as this does not defeat the purpose of teaching. Will it not give the student ready-made conclusions and preclude his independent thinking? Or is it true that the student never thinks anyway, so he may as well get the interpretation of a mature historian? Again, do history teachers need such an "interpretative" book to help them? Or is it true that they need a better mind to tell them what their mass of information means? It is sad to think that such a text as this is needed, but it probably is.

Is the division by centuries the best one to make in modern European history? Bruun handles his centuries in masterful fashion, and he does not make the mistake of compartmentalizing events into four air-tight boxes. But the reader gets the impressions that each century is equally important, that the same quantity of important developments occurred in the seventeenth as in the fifteenth, as in the sixteenth and eighteenth, centuries. Perhaps a more accurate picture of the evolution of Europe would have been given if more stress and more space had been given to certain periods. To dismiss the Protestant Revolt and the Catholic Reformation in a single chapter of twenty pages, for example, seems to slight so important a movement as this breakup of Christendom was for future history. "The Cult of Precision" in the Renaissance, important as it was, hardly deserves the same number of pages as the religious upheaval.

There are distinct advantages, however, in taking the history of Europe by century, and Bruun must be credited with a balanced, sensible and understanding interpretation of *Europe in Evolution*.

St. Louis University

THOMAS P. NEILL

From Democracy to Nazism, by Rudolf Heberle. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press. 1945. pp. ix + 130. \$2.50

Professor Heberle, a native of the city of Luebeck in Germany, was formerly professor of sociology at the University of Kiel; there, after 1929, he carried out the studies on which the present volume is based. Professor Heberle's concern in this study is not with German political ideas in general, but rather, as the subtitle—"A Regional Case Study on Political Parties in Germany"—suggests, the concern is with organized groups and unorganized collectivities in which political ideas find practical expression. The author is particularly interested in discovering "whether and to what extent the Nazi regime can be considered an outgrowth of permanent dispositions and characteristics of the German people, and to what extent it has to be understood as an anomalous phenomenon which . . . may be overcome by forces more in harmony with Western political tradition." The rural areas of Schleswig-Holstein, which by 1930 had become one of the strongholds of the Nazi party, are chosen by Professor Heberle for this regional study both because the political developments of this region reflected the general pattern of the Reich and because the various types of German rural society are all to be found in Schleswig-Holstein.

Professor Heberle's conclusion is that the Nazi regime was an anomaly within the social and cultural traditions of the German people. It becomes evident, however, that it was an anomaly so subtly related to the main body of Western political traditions (which, Professor Heberle tells us—not unconvincingly—were largely adhered to in Germany) that its anomalous character is at once cause for hope and despair. Professor Heberle inclines to take an optimistic view.

It is in the ideology of the *Landespartei* (representing the small farmers and the small town middle class) that Professor Heberle discovers the inception of ideas which later, upon appropriate transformation, became the National Socialist Party doctrine. The protest of the *Landespartei* was essentially against the dominance of finance-capitalism, against an oligarchical (and international) conception, supported nonetheless by traditional Christian and natural law principles. The objective of the middle class groups was a "weak state," not in the laissez-faire sense, but rather "as a political corporation organically composed of naturally grown communities." It was the emphasis on the idea of community (*Gemeinschaft*) over against society (*Gesellschaft*) that furnished the National Socialists material for the mystic transformation of this concept into that of the "ethnic community." The supremacy of *Gesellschaft*, represented by Prussian conservatism, over community interest had meant the supremacy of industrial capitalism which had not only destroyed the conception of political common good, but had brought with it an increasing commercialization of culture, "the breakdown of good taste, and the suffocation of creative cultural and administrative activity in the province." It becomes clear, once more, that in Germany at any rate totalitarianism did not proceed from governmental intervention. It proceeded from a two-fold movement, each protesting traditional Western political creeds: from the rise of a dominant industrial capitalism, defending its supremacy over the community in terms of a proper autonomy under natural rights and Christian principles; and from a contrary "folk movement" of the middle classes, protesting against the oligarchical domination of the moneyed class and demanding the recognition of the primacy of the community expressed in terms of cultural autonomy, political decentralization and a return to humanistic values. This is, of course, a simplification of the "line-up" and the factors involved in the drawing of the lines; but it is the essential material out of which the National Socialist movement developed, as Professor Heberle shows. The Nazis, by skillfully employing economic interests and provoking deep-seated resentments and sentiments, managed to conceal their ultimate purposes and to win the support of the middle classes. The conservative classes were persuaded finally to throw their support to the Hitler movement because they saw in it a "healthy" counter-revolutionary movement and a resurgence of national sentiments.

It is a good thing to receive assurance that the totalitarian state is rather an anomalous phenomenon in the whole context of German social tradition; the cause for pessimism, however, is that the Western political tradition should have been—and should continue to be—so terribly confused as to make the anomaly so much like a normal development.

St. Louis University

CHARLES N. R. MCCOY

The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443, volume III, by E. F. Jacob. Oxford University Press. Oxford, 1945. pp. 526. \$4.50

The volume under review is the third edited by E. F. Jacob from the Register of Henry Chichele's episcopate. Needless to say, it is a model of careful scholarship and masterly arrangement. Like the previous volumes, this one is another of the aids being offered the student of an interesting, and yet neglected, period of English ecclesiastical history.

Archbishop Chichele was a churchman of the stamp not infrequent in history. Against the full background of Roman tradition he is understood as a capable prelate, a defender of orthodoxy, and a patron of education. To the unsympathetic he is a stubborn individual and a forerunner of protestantism.

Jacob's work should do much to clarify the archbishop's position. Undoubtedly, his relations with successive pontiffs were not uniformly happy. Yet to hold, as some historians have, that "he was distinguished for his zeal in the cause of the English Church, which he defended against the pretension of the Pope to dispose of ecclesiastical preferments," is a little wide of the mark. Such a statement, by implication, renders anomalous the concern Chichele showed for general Church affairs, his prosecution of the suppression of the Lollards, and the connection he maintained with the Church outside England. In this third volume, we are given evidence of the definite attempts made to stop royal hindrance of ecclesiastical liberties, particularly in the abusive use of *Premunire facias*. Constantly recurring, too, are the accounts of support requested and granted to the Universities.

The task of editorship is admirably accomplished. The text itself, aside from the scholarly significances, makes interesting reading in many parts. The language of the documents—Latin, English, French—offers a good example of the way in which the various tongues came to mould the language we use today. To go through some of the items here printed is to return to the England of the early fifteenth century and listen in on clerical discussion of such varied topics as the validity of the later session at Basel, the honor to be paid the saints, or the measures to be taken against "quilibet interessens potacionibus et commessionibus, congregacionibus ac confabulacionibus in domibus seu cameris privatis extra tempus secundum regulares observancias consuetum."

St. Louis University

DONALD CAMPION

The Spirit of English History, by A. L. Rowse. New York. Oxford University Press. 1945. pp. 158. \$2.00

World War I was not kind to historical scholarship; during the war and afterwards scholarship on many occasions degraded itself in the cause of patriotic diatribes. From the title of this little book we might expect some such atrocious example of *Geistesgeschichte* in which all the good qualities of personality would be attributed to the English people, and they would be pictured as driven forwards and ever upwards by their National Genius towards a rendezvous with Destiny. Such fears would be increased by the knowledge that this book is a wartime product (first published in England in 1943) and that it was sponsored for national and international edification by the British Council on Books in Wartime.

Such fears, however, would prove groundless. Mr. Rowse loves his country; he is forced to generalizations because of the essay-like character of the book; he is influenced by the customary interpretations of his school of historiography; but the total result is an excellent, balanced essay on the "meaning of English history."

In his preface Mr. Rowse states his aims: (1) to make the story of the English people intelligible, and (2) within the narrow limits of about 45,000 words to include everything which is really essential to the understanding of that story. The writer really achieves both goals to a marvelous degree. The lines of historical development are portrayed simply and clearly; and the advanced student of English history will delight in the care with which the author touches upon points of academic dispute, usually resolving them in favor of the latest more common opinion. Such an essay treatment of the whole of English history is the fruit of truly ripe historical scholarship attained by only a select few.

The only strictures which this reviewer would lay against this book are more properly directed against the author's school of historiography than against the author himself. Mr. Rowse is clearly a disciple of G. M. Trevelyan, and he closely follows the general lines of what has been called the Whig School of English history. The dominating Whig principle is "whatever is right," a kind of socio-historical optimism. Thus Mr. Rowse never criticizes what has happened; instinctively he agrees that

whatsoever may have been the developments of English history, they have been for the best. This attitude applied to political and diplomatic policy is the traditional British "muddling through" which has been so highly lauded and praised by British authors. Such doctrine applied to mental attitudes adds up to a self-complacency and a lack of mental initiative in tackling vital problems. Such a principle of historical interpretation is often "uncritical" in the sense that it leads to a blind sentimental acceptance of results as "true" and "best," whatever side comes out on top in a period of historical crisis and turmoil. To the reviewer it seems that such attitudes and principles have become extolled as "typically English" primarily because of the dominance exercised by the Whig School in interpreting its nation's history. The rapid development of the social sciences and the new attitudes which this development has brought about in the study of historical causation will, it may be hoped, effect a rejection of such blind acceptance of "inevitable" historical determinism.

The only clear trace of wartime psychology which this reviewer has noticed in the book is the recurring theme of "the instinctive sympathy, general kindness and tolerance" of the English people throughout the ages. True these are English virtues, as indeed they are virtues of decent people of every nationality. They have not always been as dominant as Mr. Rowse seems to think: English medieval and Tudor history is studded with anti-foreign and anti-Semitic riots, and British xenophobia in past ages has been proverbial with British historians and novelists.

But the final comment must be one of high recommendation. This book is a really excellent example of historical analysis and synthesis, but following a traditional historiographic pattern. As an introduction, survey and summary, it is well worth the time of either the beginning student or the accomplished scholar.

St. Mary's College

R. L. PORTER

American History

Mitri; or the Story of Prince Demetrius Augustine

Gallitzin, 1770-1840, by Daniel Sargent. New York.

Longmans. 1945. pp. 327. \$3.50

United States history reveals a part of its background in the story of Prince Demetrius Gallitzin, son of a Russian father and a German mother. With the pseudonym of Mr. Augustine Smith, he entered the burning Church as a missionary priest in the vast diocese subject to Bishop John Carroll. Although the book is a readable and captivatingly interesting presentation, "Mr. Smith" does not seem, in this work, to be real until he starts his work as a priest. His youth in Europe is pictured in a vague mist clouded by the intellectual and emotional excitements of a novel mother, presiding as an intellectual queen in a disappearing old world culture. The philosophers Diderot and Hemsterhuis, the educator Fuerstenberg, the poet Goethe, the Princess herself—his mother,—the former Amelia von Schmettau, and his noble father, Prince Dimitri Alexeievitch Gallitzin, as individual characters move through the first six chapters and seem very much alive, breathing flesh and blood, but not so "Mitri," the hero of the book.

In the early chapters the princess stands out preeminently; Mitri is merely an incidental figure, obscure and almost not present. Much about Mitri's environment and his mother's salons and ways of life is presented, but little of the real boy and youth in his formative stages of development. Intellectual discussions by scholarly students of literature, philosophy and science, applications of educational theories to experimentation, salons of culture have a prominent position but Mitri, through them all, has a mere shadow of existence. Although his education at The Hague and at Muenster was directed by his "enlightened," volatile mother and ignored by his absent father who was otherwise occupied with scientific musings, nevertheless we learn little about the young Mitri. His over enthusiastic mother declared that Mitri was guilty of the defects of laziness and gluttony with only one apparent point in his favor, that he was an excellent horseman.

One of the best inspirations of the Princess was that of deciding to send her son on a *grand tour* of America, where he found his vocation and where he lived a life of service until his death in 1840. Only in Chapter VII does Mitri come to life and portray himself as more than a mere prop to the salons and activities of his inimitable mother. From then on Mitri stays alive and fills the book with his long list of struggles and enthusiasms, his friendships and his oral and written replies to enemies, his priestly duties, his settlements at Loretto, his social experiments, his loss of a bishopric, his charities, his final resting in an eight dollar coffin.

A popular presentation based on scholarly research is what we possess in the book *Mitri*. The work is hardly definitive, yet

it shows an honest use and interpretation of sources, emphasizing points of interest to a general reading public. The chaste style of the author is brought about by the accurate word and by the use of the apt expression. There is a reflection of Gallitzin's spirit evident in the quotations from his letters especially from those directed to Bishop Carroll. Moreover, a fascinating picture of American frontier life is embellished with historic incidents too often overlooked or not stressed in many a biography. As a consequence Gallitzin's actions and the early history of the Church in the United States are wonderfully integrated with the whole picture of our national life. Books of this type will awaken in the popular mind an appreciation of, an interest in, a curiosity concerning the glorious happenings connected with the remarkable foundations of the Faith only a bit more than a century ago in our land.

Humor and pathos, trust in God and self-assurance are intertwined in the records of this extraordinary character. Especially in the many references to Gallitzin's debts is his character revealed. The chapter entitled 'Don Quixote' portrays his human, although misguided, devotion to a cause. The listing of part of his library on pages 263-265 gives an insight into what may have affected his outlook and served his recreational as well as reference needs.

The partially annotated bibliography is good in that not only are the primary and secondary sources on Gallitzin mentioned, but also the works of contemporaries which throw light on his life and times. The author has drawn on many contemporaries who never knew Gallitzin yet gave accurate pictures of the lands through which Gallitzin travelled and of the populace with whom he came in contact.

The index looks almost like a list of the luminaries of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Unfortunately the four illustrations in the book are not sufficiently identified as to origin or as to present location.

If Daniel Sargent had not been elected previously to the Gallery of Living Catholic Authors, certainly *Mitri* would have been his present key for entrance. American historical studies are the better because of this presentation.

St. Louis University

WILLIAM A. FITZGERALD

The Jesuits in Old Oregon, by William N. Bischoff, S.J.
Caldwell, Idaho. The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1945.
pp. 258. \$3.00

This work is a useful addition to the expanding Jesuitica of North America. It is a needed supplement to the volumes of the late Fr. Gilbert Garraghan.

Yet it will have only a limited circulation because it is primarily a specialized account of activity in a restricted area, done in a manner which is essentially objective and factual. It seems that the author occasionally attempts to bring his book into the "popular" class by adding reflections and appending adjectives as an after-thought. It would have been better to remain in the strict professional field. The subject matter is a bit on the heavy side of specialization—and it has in the main remained there in this book. But the occasional sallies into the lighter atmosphere are deteriorations because they appear as definite eruptions from the constricting circle of staid objective history.

There is no doubt that the work could have been given the more popular tone and that in that tone it would have made both entertaining and profitable reading. Such writing is not of itself to be disparaged. It has its place. But an ineffectual, sporadic compromise can maim the complete result, for it will be neither calm objective history nor sprightly romanticizing. The last paragraph on page 128 is a specific example of the type of interpolation which is to be deplored. Intermittent references to the "good" fathers and to the "rude" log churches also fall under the ban.

The author made a wise decision when he chose to treat his general field in a geographical rather than in a chronological manner. Following out his plan he is able to treat each region in detail and completely—then to dispose of it in the mental racks. The chronological would have had the reader chasing all over the Rocky Mountains in a harrassing effort to keep on the trail of the ubiquitous missionaries.

It is easy to follow the travels of the Rocky Mountain Jesuits in this work because of the complement of good maps supplied by Fr. Jerome Jacobsen.

The biographical appendix of important missionaries, the lengthy foot-notes which also contain much biographical material about other important personages, and the critical bibliography of useful primary material are useful additions to the text. They afford an easy reference and also give evidence of the scholarship involved in the writing of the book.

St. Louis University

GREGORY C. HUGER

William Sylvis, Pioneer of American Labor, A study of the Labor Movement During the Era of the Civil War, by Jonathan Grossman, Ph.D. New York. Columbia University Press. 1945. pp. 274 + appendices, bibliography and index. \$3.50

This book is No. 516 in Columbia University's series of Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. The author is a member of the Department of History at the College of the City of New York.

His book, a valuable addition to the ever increasing library of trade union literature, is based on extensive scholarly research into primary sources and is presented with scholarly objectivity and detachment. Nevertheless, it is not marked to any great extent by that forbidding stiffness which often characterizes such productions.

The author concentrates his effort on depicting William Sylvis the trade union leader. Other phases of his life receive but summary treatment. In describing the union activities of his subject, the author gives us a rather detailed picture of American labor around the time of the Civil War—its conditions, aims, heart-aches, successes and failures. This picture is painted against the background of the general economic conditions of that day. In this book, you see a great labor leader struggling to organize his fellow workers; you watch the day-by-day operations of a labor union with its petty jealousies and heroic sacrifices; you follow the winding course of strike-making and strike-breaking.

The book is chiefly concerned with the progress of the Iron Molders International Union, but, because William Sylvis played such an important role in the National Labor Union and in the producers' cooperative movement, the author devotes considerable space to these two phases of the pioneer days of organized American labor.

A portion of the book is taken up with an attempt to summarize William Sylvis' philosophy, but, since he was a man who solved problems as they arose, he cannot be assigned to any particular school of thought. Yet, he was a far-sighted labor leader. Of course, he made many mistakes and some of his ideas were unsound. He had his character defects too. But he was selfless, intelligent and, in many respects, far ahead of his own times. One will find this account of his life and work very instructive.

St. Louis University

CORNELIUS A. ELLER

John Dooley, Confederate Soldier. His War Journal, edited by Joseph T. Durkin, S.J. Washington, D. C. Georgetown University Press. 1945. pp. xxiii + 244. \$3.00

This war diary of a young Confederate soldier has much to recommend it. John Dooley was a keen observer of men and events; he wrote with surprising clarity. Though there is little of the startling or picturesque in the book, there is much of movement of troops, estimates of the leaders, reflections on the times and side-lights on the war. Perhaps, because of the simplicity and clarity with which John Dooley recorded events, the diary is a much more accurate source of information concerning the war he fought than many another more flowery product. The diarist was a simple young man from a good, genuine sort of stock which took situations as they came. He fought well and bravely for the cause in which he believed. When his cause was lost he did what he could to bring about peace and union in his little corner of the world.

We are in the editor's debt for many things in this book. The brief biographical sketch of the Dooley family, John's early years at Georgetown and the essential information concerning his later life are adequately presented. The editor did not attempt to touch up his manuscript, but allowed the diary to come to us unchanged. For a book published in wartime, this one is remarkable for its excellent format.

St. Louis University

JOSEPH P. DONNELLY

Social Science

History of Economic Doctrines, by Eduard Heimann. Oxford University Press, New York. 1945. pp. ix + 263. \$3.50

A good history of economic thought must do three things: it must present the ideas of economic thinkers accurately, thus tracing the progress of economic theory from its beginnings to the present day; it must show the impact of philosophical, political, and theological thought on the minds of economic writers; finally, the effectiveness of economic thought must be evaluated through analysis of its influence in shaping the course

of general political and social history. Dr. Heimann is not so naive as to think that he could achieve a complete history of this kind in some two hundred and sixty pages. Consequently, he limits himself to a study of the first element in a history of economic ideas—the development of methods and techniques—and it is from the standpoint of this goal that the book may be adequately judged.

The outstanding achievement of the book is its penetrating summarization of the leading ideas of economics. It is not infrequent for scholars to succeed in mastering and restating the thought of a particular man or a definite era, but it is seldom that one writer manages to come to an understanding of the precise convictions and underlying tenets of a large number of thinkers. That the author of this book was able to present a perspicacious and sympathetic analysis of a very large number of economists, both past and present, is no small tribute to his scholarship. For the present state of social turmoil is a particularly difficult environment for a dispassionate approach to the thoughts of men who realized, as Hicks has said, "that the place of economic theory is to be the servant of applied economics." If he has sufficient regard for succinctness and accuracy of appraisal, the reader of this book must conclude that it contains unsurpassed treatments of Quesnay, Marx, Walras, Cassel, and Keynes. And, while his focus is not so sharp when he centers on Smith, Ricardo, Wicksell, and Marshall, the author is above mediocrity even in these, his less brilliant, observations. This, then, is the chief value of the book, judged on a basis of the author's objective: it is a surprisingly good discussion (one would not expect to find such a satisfactory accomplishment in a book of so few pages) of the whole course of economic theory, from the time it began its existence as a separate discipline down to its present state of development.

It is difficult to decide the precise usefulness of this *History of Economic Doctrines*. The information contained in it is almost indispensable for the student of history and government. Since 1750 the social problem has been so closely connected with historical development that a failure to appreciate the steps taken by economic theorists to meet this problem will lead to misunderstandings and a lack of full historical appreciation. On the other hand, however, Dr. Heimann's treatment, while clear to those acquainted with the terms and concepts of economic theory, would present very great obstacles to those without some economic training. Had he eschewed the jargon of the professional economists, and had he couched his excellent treatment in terms in general literary usage, the author would have filled a very definite need. As the book stands, it is a good, brief synopsis of the leading ideas of economics, and its usefulness is limited to the role of an auxiliary text in the field of the History of Economic Thought.

Although he is quite adequate when he is dealing with the fundamental presentation of the views of leading economists, the author does not succeed so well in some of his own inferences and judgments. His apodictic statement that fixed costs have no bearing on determining marginal costs will not pass unchallenged. The book contains the absurd assertion that, for Catholics, there is really no difference between economics and applied ethics. In his discussion of the economic share that goes to the mechanical agents of production, Dr. Heimann shows that both Oppenheimer and Senior reasoned to the necessity of this payment, whether in a capitalistic or socialist state. This is a fairly defensible conclusion, but the further conclusion that "the fundamental political decision between capitalism and socialism is a moral problem" is entirely unwarranted—especially in the light of the author's own brilliant synthesis of the leading ideas of the price system as a means to the most efficient distribution of resources.

The tendency to bring out a clear exposition of some economic doctrine as it developed through time, only to discard it when making his own judgments as to the effectiveness of that doctrine, makes Dr. Heimann irksome at times. This tendency is especially pronounced in the judgments he makes about the various theories of the past, particularly those of Adam Smith and Walras. There can be no doubt that the classical economists erred in many things, but their system must be judged in the light of its assumptions, one of the foremost of which is the absence of monopoly. The Walrasian equalities also require a degree of responsiveness not found in an economic system that is frozen by monopolistic factors. Yet, Heimann fails to take this monopoly factor into account when he criticizes these two systems on historical grounds. Other defects could be pointed out, but since the book has achieved the fundamental objective of tracing the growth of economics as a science, it would be unnecessary and quite lacking in perspective to dwell too much on these defects. On the whole, the book is a good presentation, with adequate footnotes and a serviceable index.

St. Mary's College

JAMES F. HANLEY

The Japanese Nation. A Social Survey, by John F. Embree. New York. Farrar and Rinehart. 1945. pp. xi + 308. \$3.00

As a result of the war, America today has become Japan-minded. But our interest in Japan, since it is admittedly just a child of the war, will hardly last and will not bring the desired results, unless it is based on, and complemented by, a thorough understanding of what Japan really is and what she stands for. During the last few years, numerous books have been written to give us such an insight into the material and spiritual make-up of this nation and its people that seem so strange to us. However, most of these books must be judged complete failures. They were, unfortunately, written for war time reading and have already outlived their usefulness.

Embree's book is different. It is one of the very few from among those which have come to the notice of the present reviewer that will last and will make profitable reading for many years to come. Its theme is the delineation of the social structure and cultural patterns of present day Japan. Embree did not intend to write a history or a cultural interpretation of the island empire; but the historical background and manifold cultural traditions have been skillfully woven into the explanation of its social organizations.

Being thus primarily a social survey, the book devotes considerable attention to government, economic conditions, class system, family life, education, and religion. Of special interest are what the author calls "the traditional behavior patterns," as typified by group action and group responsibility, group solidarity and loyalty, the go-between, the proverbial Japanese smile, suicide, and the like. His analysis of the "national attitudes" towards the emperor, government, nationalism, and the different foreign nations, is well balanced and gives food for thought. Throughout the whole discussion, the author makes an honest—in view of the recent war productions we are almost inclined to say 'courageous'—attempt at objectivity. In this he is highly successful. That is the greatest merit of the book.

Otherwise, there is nothing really new or striking. The presentation is rather factual, and the facts the author gives are, on the whole, commonplace knowledge. Further, because of its brevity the book skims many of the problems discussed, and at times one could well argue about some of the interpretations adduced. For instance, it is no longer generally held by historians that the persecution of Christianity in the seventeenth century "was not so much an oppression of religion, as it was a political move, undertaken for national security" (p. 13). Both the political and the religious motive entered into the persecution. Again, it is a question very much open to discussion, whether or not "with the gradual decline of Buddhism as a dynamic religion the Shinto sects form today one of the most active religious forces in Japan" (p. 192). But despite any criticism suggested on such minor points and the somewhat brief and sketchy presentation of a number of rather knotty problems, the reviewer considers Embree's book a most significant study. It is a valuable addition to every college library.

University of San Francisco

GUSTAV VOSS

The United Nations Primer, by Sigrid Arne. New York. Farrar and Rinehart. 1945. pp. 156. \$1.25

This little volume of 156 pages is honestly and adequately named. It is definitely a primer, and no more. Its major utility for the ordinary student, as well as for the non-student reader, is that it assembles in one place the major documents on the organization of the United Nations, from the Atlantic Charter through the United Nations Charter and the Statute of the International Court of Justice, adopted at San Francisco on June 26, 1945. Actually, one-third of the book is devoted to the textual materials, declarations, proclamations, communiqués and charters, resulting from the major meetings of some or all of the United Nations.

The "primer" opens with a breezy newspaperman's account of the meeting at sea between President Roosevelt "with his cigarette holder" and Prime Minister Churchill "with his cigar" in August, 1941, out of which developed the Atlantic Charter. Admittedly, however, the brief analysis of the Charter is very much to the point; it emphasizes, for example, the fact that Point Two does not guarantee the prevention of territorial changes made without consideration of the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned; for the Charter merely states that the two Great Powers "desire to see" no such territorial changes.

From the Atlantic Charter the author takes us through the United Nations Declaration of January 1, 1942, Casablanca, the Hot Springs Food Conference, the First Quebec Conference, the Moscow meeting of the Big Three, the United Nations Relief Conference, the meetings at Cairo and Teheran, the Philadel-

phia meeting of the International Labor Organization, the Bretton Woods Conference, the Second Quebec Conference, the International Aviation Conference at Chicago, the Yalta meeting and the San Francisco Conference. It is not altogether clear why the meeting of the International Labor Organization at Philadelphia was included, and why the Dumbarton Oaks meetings were excluded. Also, the treatment given certain of these important conferences is sketchy in the extreme. This would be particularly true of the Bretton Woods Conference, out of which came the agreements for the International Stabilization Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and of the Civil Aviation Conference. Possibly, the basic factor in accounting for the sketchy treatment accorded these conferences is that the subject matter with which they were concerned is not adaptable to simplification.

The book apparently suffers somewhat from hasty preparation. Quite a few typographical and grammatical errors distract the reader. (See e.g. pages 42, 57, 59, 65, 71, 79). Certain factual errors might also be pointed out. The I.L.O. is *not* part of the machinery of the League of Nations; hence the Soviet Union was not required to leave the former when she left the latter (page 60). Again, the Yalta Conference took place one year, and not two years, after Teheran (page 51).

In spite of these deficiencies the Primer has merit. Generally, the commentary accompanying the textual materials is well-written, interesting, and carefully objective. It is not, however, nor is it meant to be, scholarly or profound. But the major value of the volume, as pointed out earlier, is undoubtedly the fact that it provides a convenient reference for the various documentary materials which it assembles in one place. On this basis, the United Nations Primer can be recommended for students and scholars alike.

St. Louis University

PAUL G. STEINBICKER

Book Notices

American Political and Social History, by Harold U. Faulkner. New York. F. S. Crofts & Co. 1945. pp. xx + 838. \$4.00

The importance of teaching American history needs little demonstration today. Never, as in the past ten or twelve years, has the average man been confronted with so many arguments in the political-social domain based on the tradition of American history. Students recognize the need for a background in this subject. But the teacher stumbles on a grave problem in choosing the text to furnish such a background.

Professor Faulkner's book has been accepted by many teachers as a solution to this problem. A well-written, readable narrative is one reason for this. In addition, a careful selection of illustrations and maps, plus bibliographical notes at the close of each chapter, and a lengthy bibliography at the end of the book, point up the value of the work for classroom use. As for the picture of America sketched in its pages, little criticism can be offered on the score of material presented. The title tells the author's intention. In seven hundred and sixty pages there is room for just so many facts. A student of social history may desire a lengthier treatment of some social institutions such as the church and reform movements. But brevity here may be excused.

On the other hand, a teacher using this book is faced with the perennial problem of 'interpretative' history. Dixon Ryan Fox, in a foreword, points out "the slight 'tendency' of the Book." Is this desirable? The answer to such a question must hang upon a number of presuppositions. The work is a popular text, it has a limited space in which to cover a large field. Under such circumstances it may be for the best that the author recognizes his bias and lets a warning suffice for his readers. With it, the teacher may find just such a text more easily provocative of interest and discussion. There are two cautions to be observed: that the teacher weighs the historical testimony himself; and that the teacher does not allow his own bias to convince him of the tendentiousness of the author.

Europe Since 1914, by F. Lee Bennis. New York. F. S. Crofts & Co. 1945. 6th edition. pp. xviii + 612 + 92. \$4.00

To those acquainted with previous editions of this book little need be said in praise of its many excellent features. Sustained precision of statement and a well-balanced objectivity continue to distinguish the work of Dr. Bennis. When one considers the period of history covered, the distinction of such merits becomes more evident.

Faced with the task of studying contemporary history one suffers a natural discouragement. None but the most detached individual can trust himself in an analysis of many of the recent events, and in many instances he is deprived of the necessary aid from documents. Conscious of this twofold handicap, one will welcome such a volume as this for the scope and fairness of its pages. Naturally, under the pressure of a six-year world war, the second half of the book's title—*In Its World Setting*—has more significance than usual. Bennis succeeds in weaving a clear background to his tapestry of European affairs through those fateful years, as they were affected by the American scene and the Pacific war. In view of the increased significance of the Vatican's role in international affairs, one is surprised to find little mention of papal activity.

The value of a book of this type is open to dispute. At times, in an attempt to draw a fair picture too many details are included, without achieving that completeness of view which can only come from a substantial foundation in monographic literature on each of the major events discussed. Too often, as a glance at the forty-six page Select Bibliography will show, we must still rely mainly on partisan, doctrinaire writings for our information.

Books Received

Federalism and Regionalism in Germany, by Arnold Brecht. New York. Oxford University Press. 1945. pp. xvi + 202. \$2.50

The State in Catholic Thought, by Heinrich A. Rommen, LL.D. St. Louis. B. Herder Book Co. 1945. pp. vii + 747. \$6.00

Years of Victory, 1802-1812, by Arthur Bryant. New York. Harper and Brothers. 1945. pp. xii + 468. \$4.00

Consular Relations Between The United States and The Papal States, edited by Leo Francis Stock, Ph.D., LL.D. Washington, D. C. American Catholic Historical Association. 1945. pp. xxxix + 467. \$5.00

Renaissance Literary Criticism, A Study of Its Social Content, by Vernon Hall, Jr. New York. Columbia University Press. 1945. pp. viii + 260. \$3.00

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Seargent S. Prentiss, Whig Orator of the Old South, by Dallas C. Dickey. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press. 1945. pp. xiii + 422. \$4.00

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Catholics and the Civil War, essays by The Rev. Benjamin J. Blied, Ph.D. Milwaukee. Published privately. 1945. pp. 162. \$2.50

El Rio Del Espiritu Santo, An Essay on the Cartography of the Gulf Coast and the Adjacent Territory during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, by Jean Delanglez, S.J., Ph.D. Monograph Series XXI of The United States Catholic Historical Society. New York. 1945. pp. xiii + 182.

Historical Records and Studies, Volume XXXIV, edited by Thomas J. McMahon, S.T.D. New York. The United States Catholic Historical Society. 1945. pp. 189.

Mary Theresa Countess Ledóchowska, by Valeria Bielak. 2nd edit. St. Paul. Sodality of St. Peter Claver. 1944. pp. XII + 226. \$1.80

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